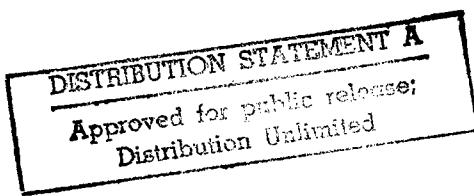


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# ***JPRS Report***



# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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30 OCTOBER 1989

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**USSR Council of Ministers Structure, Functions**  
*18001680 Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK*  
*in Russian No 18, Sep 89 pp 2-3*

[Report by the Legal Department of the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers: "The Government: Its Functions, Powers, and Responsibility"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a decision on drafting a new Law on the USSR Council of Ministers. As we know, the current Law on National Government was passed more than 10 years ago, and many of its provisions are quite outdated today.

One can hardly argue that the central issue of legislative regulation of the activities of the USSR Government is the issue of its role and place in the system of the country's supreme bodies of state power and, consequently, of the correlation of executive and legislative power. You see, ensuring in deed the unlimited power of the people and effective management of the country's affairs largely depends on the organization of the activities of its highest echelons, their interaction, and precise distribution of prerogatives.

On what key tenets which set forth the status of the USSR Government should the new Law on the USSR Council of Ministers be based, in our opinion? It seems that its constitutional characteristics as the supreme executive and administrative body of state power of the USSR should not simply be preserved, but should also be filled with a qualitatively new content meeting the tasks of implementing economic and political reform and shifting to unlimited power of the soviets of people's deputies and meeting the requirements of forming a socialist law-governed state.

Today, what predetermines the validity and breadth of the government's powers and their authoritative nature? First of all, the USSR Council of Ministers is responsible only to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, and is accountable namely only to them. Secondly, the USSR Government is empowered to decide all issues of governing the state that pertain to managing the USSR, since they do not come under the jurisdiction of legislative bodies of the USSR. Finally, decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers must be executed throughout the country by all bodies, organizations, officials, and citizens.

Individual theoretical works express proposals to constitute the USSR Government as the supreme body of state government or as an executive body of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In our opinion, it is difficult to agree with these proposals. Whereas the first defines the government's place only in a system of administrative bodies, the second virtually deprives it of independence of executive power, turning it into an agency (a type of committee) of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

If we turn attention to the experience of the mutual relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its committees and chamber commissions with the USSR Government, experience which the first session of the Supreme Soviet left us and which, obviously, will be thoroughly and carefully studied by jurists, it could be summed up in a brief but expressive statement: Learn to work together. Cooperation and a businesslike partnership based on law should become the dominant idea of this interaction and, without exaggeration, an expression of state wisdom.

As the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet showed, the differences in the approaches and assessments of the people's deputies and the USSR Government on a number of issues discussed at the session sometimes led to difficult, if not "impasse," situations, which would have been easier to overcome or prevent if the session had finely polished parliamentary procedures.

Under conditions of the functioning of a new system of bodies of state power, including a continually functioning USSR Supreme Soviet endowed with broad controlling and administrative functions, its committees and chamber commissions, it seems advisable to provide in the Draft Law on the USSR Council of Ministers certain legal guarantees of consistent implementation by the government of its platform and full exercising of the powers granted it. Thus, the proposal to grant the USSR Government, in the event of disagreement on the program of impending activities, on the most important draft laws submitted, and on other fundamental issues, the right to appeal to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies for their review and decision.

Institutions well-known in parliamentary practice not only in capitalist but also socialist countries, such as the government's right to resign, passing a vote of confidence (or no confidence) in the government, and certain others, would not be alien in a future law.

The passage at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of a number of legislative acts was not possible, in our view, without certain costs of a political nature. Without detracting at all from the role of chamber commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet, we would note that individual amendments proposed by them to the draft laws submitted by the USSR Government proved to be not quite successful. This probably could have been avoided if representatives of the government and its apparatus had participated in the final work-up of the drafts. Experience of interaction between the USSR Supreme Soviet, its committees and chamber commissions and the USSR Government is still modest; however, it makes it possible today to express thoughts on the usefulness of precise rules defining the government's prerogatives when examining draft laws submitted by it and other issues.

The USSR Government structures its work in accordance with the principles of socialist federalism, democratic centralism, rule of law, and glasnost. We would

like to make special note of the principle of socialist federalism, which permeates all aspects of the organization and activities of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The main thing in implementing this principle is the organic combination of the interests of a unified multi-nationality Soviet Union with the interests of the sovereign union republics that it includes.

A very important part of the new law, in our opinion, should be its provisions on mutual relations of the USSR Council of Ministers with the supreme bodies of state power and administration of the union republics. Here, obviously, we should proceed from the need to combine centralized (at the union level) resolution of issues having paramount importance for the entire national economic complex with broader development of democratic forms of administration, independence, initiative, and responsibility of the union republics in managing the economy and social sphere on their territory.

The basic principles of resolving these issues were given the a recently published draft CPSU Platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy Under Today's Conditions," which is planned to be discussed at the upcoming CPSU Plenum on Relations Between Nationalities. Noting the fundamental importance of this document for determining the jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers and the principles of its mutual relations with the supreme bodies of state power and administration of the union republics, we will still say that individual provisions of a legal nature in it could have been made more precise.

This involves, in particular, the proposal to give supreme bodies of power of the union republics the right to suspend the decisions of the union government if, in the opinion of the union republic, they violate its constitutional rights. It is hardly right to refer the question of constitutionality of decisions of the supreme executive and administrative body of USSR state power, which the USSR Government is, for unilateral judgment of the union republic. A republic could have been given the right to protest a corresponding decision in the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, which could, as it follows from the USSR Constitution, suspend execution of a governmental act if it discovers that this act contradicts union or republic law.

The USSR Government should, in our view, act similarly when it believes that the order of a republic law differs with the content of a resolution it has passed. In this case, the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee could, on recommendation of the USSR Government, become the arbiter. It is obvious that all these issues need to be thoroughly elaborated and resolved in the new Law on the USSR Council of Ministers. You see, within the framework of a federative law-governed state, mechanisms should be created and precise procedures established for resolving differences that may emerge between the bodies of state power and administration of the USSR and the union republics.

There is no need to prove that the core of the new Law on the USSR Council of Ministers is in defining the powers of the USSR Council of Ministers. Of course, it is hardly feasible and, apparently, impossible to give an exhaustive list of them in the draft. You see, within the jurisdiction of the USSR, the government has the right to resolve all issues except for those that are under the jurisdiction of legislative bodies of the USSR. Moreover, life will inevitably make serious corrections to the content of the powers of legislative and executive bodies of power.

What reference points and priorities should be taken into account, in our opinion, when formulating the powers of the union government?

We believe that the powers should reveal and consolidate the active role of government primarily:

- in implementing the strategy of renewing the national economy and in social reorientation;
- in improving production relations based on combining diverse forms of socialist property, in creating equal conditions for development of all forms of economic management, and in forming a socialist market;
- in implementing an aggressive social policy for the purpose of improving the people's standard of living and harmonious development of the individual and all his creative capabilities, and in ensuring guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms;
- in transforming society's productive forces to a qualitatively new technological basis, in accelerating scientific and technical progress, and in ensuring efficient use and protection of natural resources in the interests of current and future generations;
- in consistent democratization of state administration, in comprehensive development of the initiative and independence of enterprises, and in expanding the involvement of the workers in managing production.

The transition of union republics and regions to principles of self-government and self-financing is radically changing the content of the powers and functions of government and their orientation. Tasks such as providing assistance in implementing and strengthening cooperation between republics and regions, including by creating various inter-republic economic formations and administrative bodies, are moving to the front in the activities of the government. The powers and functions of the government should reflect the requirements both for further intensifying the intra-union division of labor, specialization and cooperation of the republics' economies, and for inter-republic and inter-regional integration and formation of a single unionwide socialist market. Of course, ensuring the same social protection for workers, regardless of nationality and place of residence, acquires paramount importance.

Obviously, the USSR Council of Ministers should be given the powers of an arbiter in differences between the union republic councils of ministers and union administrative bodies (ministries, state committees, agencies).

If, in the opinion of these bodies, their rights have been violated, the issue should, in essence, be resolved by the USSR Government. If the USSR Council of Ministers confirms the legality of the decision in dispute, review of the issue may be transferred to the USSR Supreme Soviet, with observance of the procedure of preliminary review of the decision in the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

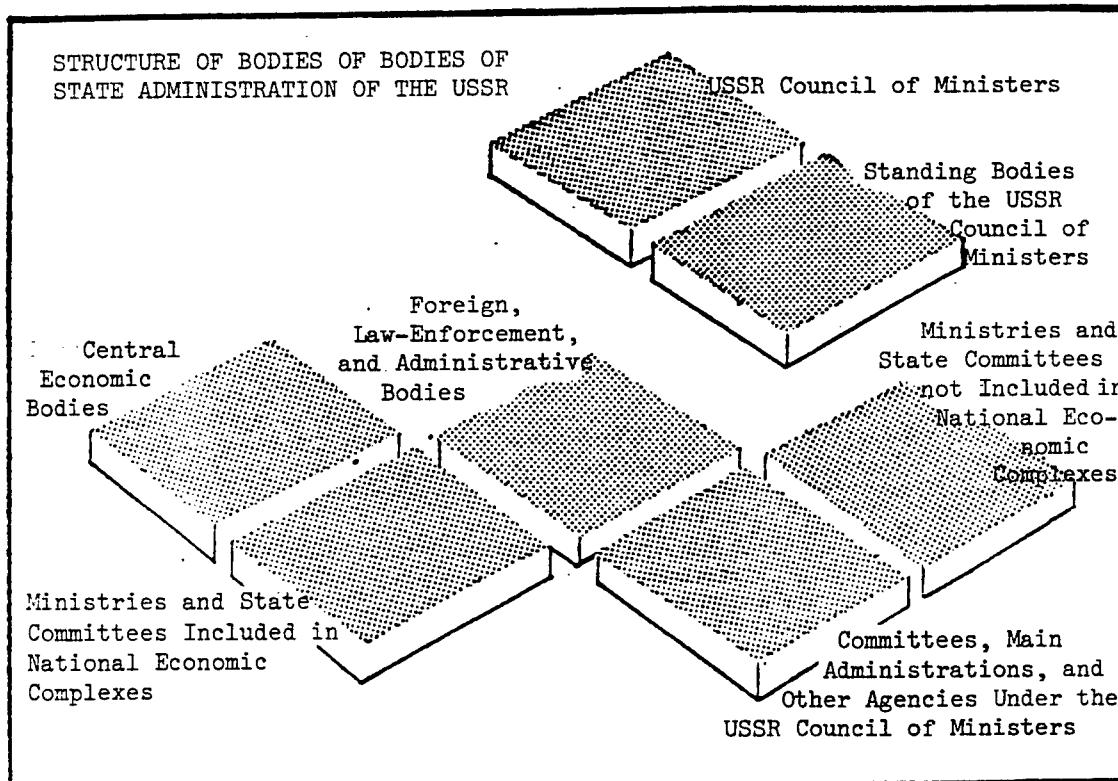
Attaching great importance to the role of the members of the USSR Council of Ministers in accomplishing its work on a collective basis, the draft will have to specify that the members of the USSR Council of Ministers are responsible not only for their assigned area of work, but also for the activities of the government as a whole. It will be necessary to formulate more precisely the rights and responsibilities of the members of the USSR Council of Ministers. In particular, the issue of introducing for members of the USSR Council of Ministers a provision on immunity, similar to that provided for people's deputies, merits attention. Obviously, the effective work of the members of the government would be helped by securing for them the right to participate in the activities of the Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and its committees and chamber commissions, including the right to be heard. Of course, this provision cannot be one-sided—participation in the work of these bodies may also be a responsibility of a member of the USSR Government, if the initiative comes directly from these bodies.

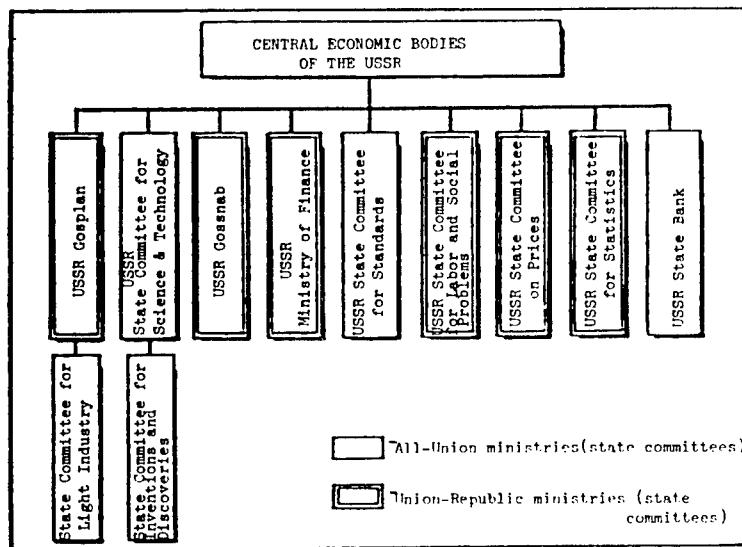
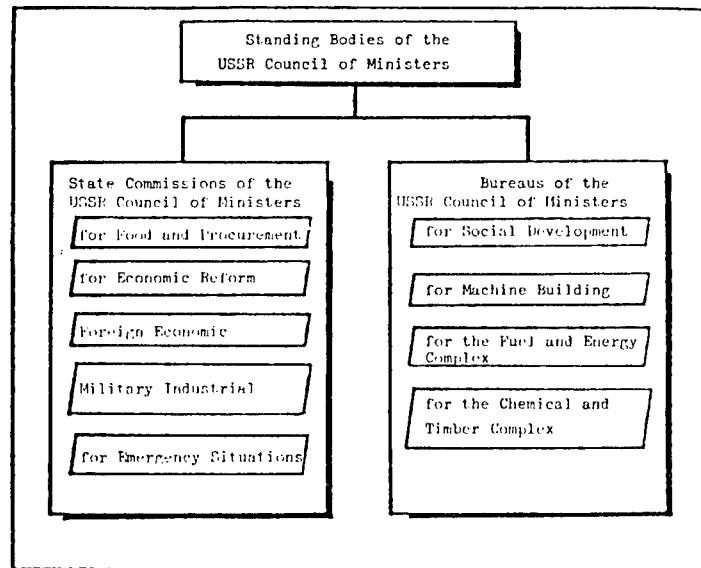
It is desirable to specify that resolutions of the USSR Government are a component part of USSR legislation. Experience also indicates that resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers, being sub-legal acts, often are formed together with laws on the basis and in the execution of which they are passed and are unified blocs of legal institutions determining the rules of conduct in one or another sphere of social relations. Also quite important is the fact that the standard acts of ministries, agencies, and other bodies of state administration must correspond to the resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers which, thus, by their legal validity and other characteristics, stand out from the overall mass of decisions of administrative bodies.

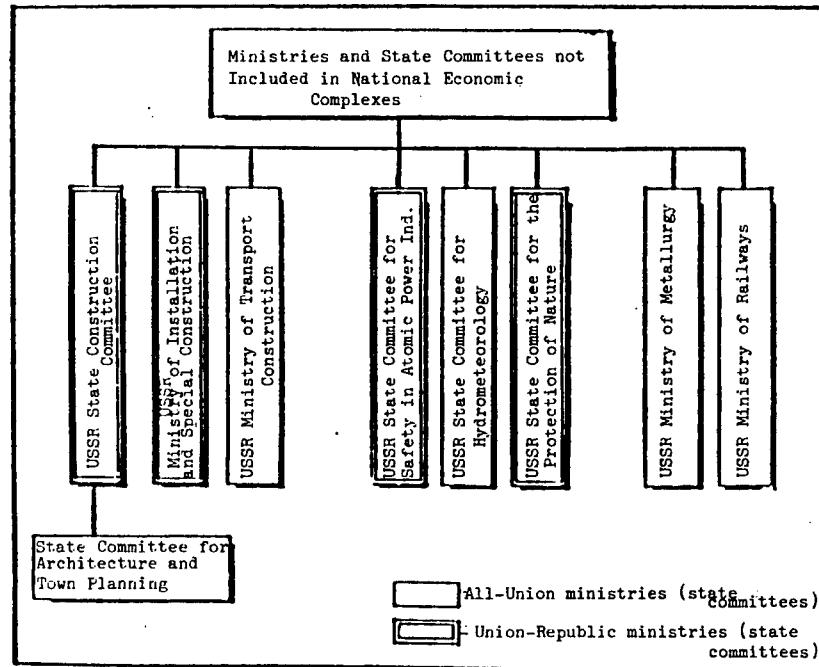
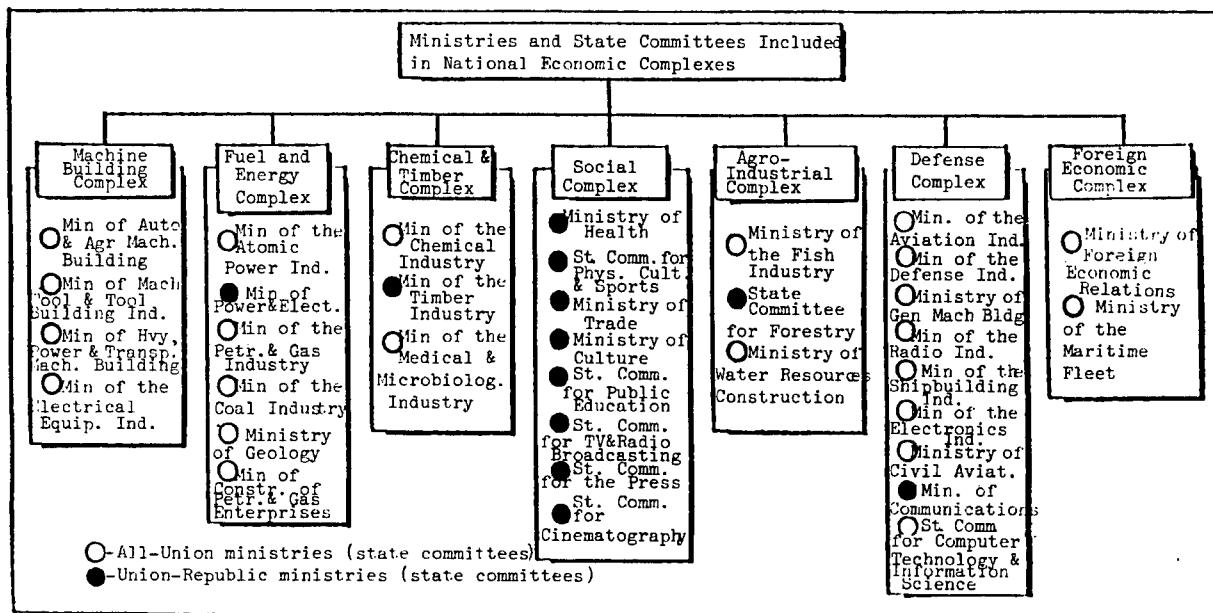
It must also be emphasized that the draft Law on the USSR Council of Ministers should be organically linked to the laws now being drafted on property, socialist enterprise, general principles of management of the economy and social sphere in the union republics, and local self-government, and to other decisions on major problems of economic and political reform.

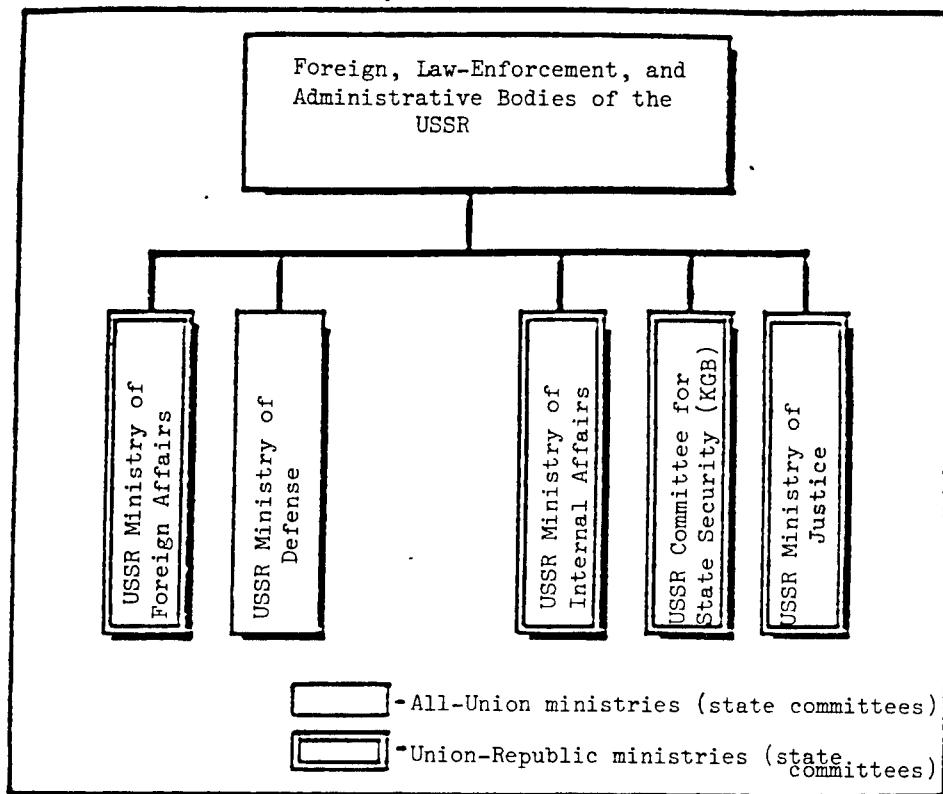
**The Legal Department of the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers**

*Work on the draft Law on the USSR Council of Ministers is only beginning; therefore, this article being published is largely for discussion. We hope that the issues raised in it will arouse the interests of jurists and all readers. We invite you to take part in the discussion.*









### Function, Structure of Social Development Bureau

18001669 Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK  
in Russian No 18, Sep 89 p 4

[Interview with Igor Ignatyevich Prostyakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, by Ye. Sosnin, under the rubric "Standing Agencies of the USSR Council of Ministers": "A Shift Toward People"]

[Text] The government decree "On the Structure and Staff of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development" notes that the decisions made by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies require a major shift of state organizations toward people, to ensure a radical improvement in people's standard of living, and consistently implement the principle of social justice.

I am interviewing I.I. Prostyakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development. He shares his thoughts on the principles of this standing governmental body's activities.

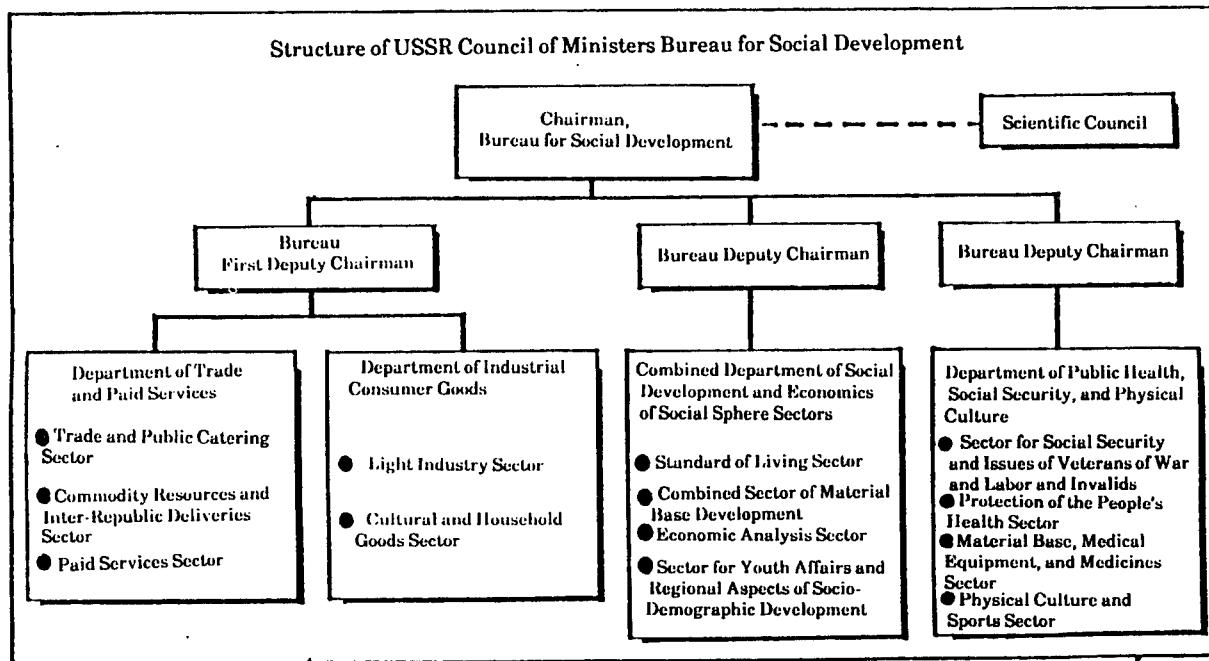
*Igor Ignatyevich PROSTYAKOV was born in 1941. He began his labor activities as an apprentice metalworker in 1957. He worked as a metalworker, foreman, and engineer at a number of enterprises and organizations. In 1965, without leaving production, he graduated from the Moscow Institute of the National Economy imeni G.V.*

*Plekhanov as an economist. He is a candidate of economic sciences and a CPSU member.*

*Beginning in 1966, he worked in the USSR Gosplan; beginning in 1978, in the apparatus of the USSR Council of Ministers. In 1982 he was promoted to head of the Department for Improving Management of the National Economy, and in 1985 to head of the USSR Council of Ministers Economic Department of the Administration of Affairs. In 1987 he was appointed deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development.*

*[Sosnin] Igor Ignatyevich, the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development has been functioning since 1986. How does its present organizational structure differ fundamentally?*

*[Prostyakov] If you compare the previous and present organizational structure of the bureau, you instinctively draw a conclusion about the impending serious shift in the bureau's work. The previous structure had a clearly expressed sectorial nature. There were subdivisions on questions of education, culture, sports, housing and municipal services, light industry, trade—practically the full collection of ministries of the social complex. In other words, there was a distinctive representation of ministries and departments in the government apparatus.*



But, you would agree, it can be very persistently involved with each individual sector without having the main thing—a strong social policy. You do not see the main thing because of the details, and you lose the overall perspective. Therefore, we decided to reorganize the organizational structure of our apparatus.

[Sosnin] One may assume that there are also changes in the nature of the functions?

[Prostyakov] Yes, and quite serious changes. Above all, it is a shift from the sectorial approach (although the sectors will remain in its field of vision) to a strong, well-weighed social policy. And it can be strong only if it is based on the specific interests of specific population groups. Meanwhile, for a long time we tolerated a neutralized approach to people. Hence, the increased social tension which we are now encountering...

We want to give our bureau a new look, to turn it as much as possible to people, to specific social and professional groups—young people, workers, veterans of war and labor. We want to reach the specific concerns of orphans and the needs of invalids and people living below the subsistence wage.

Another aspect of the restructuring of the bureau's functions is the result of the new delimitation of the spheres of influence among central, republic, and local agencies. As we know, already in the very near future the leadership of sectors of the social and cultural sphere will be concentrated in the union and autonomous republics, and also in local soviets of people's deputies. This corresponds to the course toward expanding the sovereign rights of the republics and developing self-government and to the transition to regional cost

accounting. That is why the functions and methods of the bureau's work in this sphere will now be totally different.

[Sosnin] The social sphere is vast and complex. What qualities do the specialists studying these problems possess? What is the professional level of the bureau's associates?

[Prostyakov] Indeed, the social sphere, if you take it in the broad context of people's working, living, and everyday conditions, is an interweaving of the most diverse sectors of the national economy and fields of human knowledge. Therefore, the easiest path of manning the bureau, the path lying on the surface, is selecting personnel for all sectors and specialties directly related to the social sphere.

I will say right off that the bureau immediately rejected this path. This would have been ineffective and would have resulted in creating a cumbersome, in essence, unmanageable apparatus. We are very small and mobile. Many people may not believe it, but the bureau has only 93 people—several times less than the staff of any union ministry. In return, the demands on the personnel are very, very great.

One thing unites everyone who works at the bureau—a rich school of life. An overwhelming number of the specialists previously headed large labor collectives in a wide variety of sectors of the national economy. There is another detail—more than one-third of all our personnel have an academic degree, many have a good party school behind them...

[Sosnin] Tell me, please, on what principles are the bureau's mutual relations with the union republics' councils of ministers structured?

[Prostyakov] More accurately, on what principles will they be structured—you see, management is being restructured in this sphere. Our bureau's work differs quite a bit from the forms and methods of activities of other bureaus of the USSR Council of Ministers, since they manage union-subordinate sectors and the corresponding ministries.

Our bureau's sphere of activities includes sectors the management of which in the future, as I already stated, will be concentrated in the union republics and in the localities. That means that each republic, based on its sovereign rights and also taking into account national traditions and conditions taking shape, has the right itself to resolve questions of social development of the territory. Hence, the approach to delimiting the functions with the union republics. All issues related to working out a scientifically substantiated strategy of social development of the country and accomplishing the necessary measures to intensify the social orientation of the economy remain in our jurisdiction.

But there is also a wide range of issues governed by unionwide norms and statutes. Among them are pensions, wages and employment, price formation, and so forth. Of course, we are working on all these problems in close contact with the republics.

There are also issues in which we act more as coordinators. Take, for example, division of labor among the republics in production of non-food consumer goods. Now this will be resolved locally. The advantage of such an approach is indisputable: Better consideration will be given to local needs. In addition, local elective bodies finally will be directly responsible to their constituents for the state of affairs in the market.

However, there remains a problem within the framework of regional cost accounting—inter-republic deliveries. You see, it is economically advantageous to produce certain goods not in each region but at large specialized enterprises. Our bureau must act as an intermediary here.

[Sosnin] The bureau has a Scientific Council. What are its tasks?

[Prostyakov] It has many, but I would single out three. The first is to give the leadership of the bureau, and other central agencies, recommendations on resolving pressing social problems, to help them step back, if only for a short time, from the mass of immediate matters, and look into the future. For example, much work was done to prepare a system of social standards, one of the most important tasks of which is to create an effective mechanism for getting away from the residual principle of allocating resources for development of the social and cultural sphere.

Another important task of the Scientific Council is scientific examination of prepared drafts on the most diverse issues. Thus, heated disputes emerged during discussion of the draft USSR laws on local self-government and local economy, on the state youth policy, and on the USSR Archival Fund; quite a few valuable suggestions were made.

Finally, the third task. The Scientific Council includes scientists and experienced workers of the most varied specialties and schools—jurists, sociologists, economists, engineers, journalists, social scientists, historians, and so forth. As a result, a truly unique opportunity is created to look at a problem being discussed from its different aspects. Sometimes, unexpected aspects are exposed, which forces us to look in a new way at something that seemed already customary.

There are still quite a few problems in the council's work, though. You see, it is essentially just starting to gain momentum in its activities.

[Sosnin] The USSR Congress of People's Deputies raised a number of critical social problems which require urgent resolution in the government. What is now being done for this?

[Prostyakov] Lately, it has somehow become uncomfortable to talk about major drafts. Not worried about being reprimanded, I will say that we are now preparing a number of large-scale drafts in fulfillment of the decree of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and directives of the government. This is dictated by the criticalness of pressing social problems, when we can no longer get off with some half-measures.

In particular, we are working on a new pension law, a law on leaves, and a number of other legislative acts. These are all draft laws which contain fundamentally new approaches. Of course, they will require tens of billions of rubles to implement them. But we cannot economize on this any longer.

Much is also being done now for other social policy guidelines. I will cite just one example. In 1990, compared with the projections which were envisioned for this year by the five-year plan, an additional 60 billion rubles will be directed toward current consumption of the population and non-production construction by redistributing national income.

#### Soviet Social Democratic Movement Viewed

18001591 Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian  
25 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with Boris Orlov, head, sector on problems of the international social democratic movement, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Information in the Social Sciences, doctor of historical sciences, by A. Podvezko: "New Social Democrats? Yes, Soviet!"]

[Text] This May, a meeting of representatives of democratic clubs, organizations, and movements "for restructuring" was held in Moscow, which raised the question of creating a unified network of such sociopolitical associations. One of the basic reasons spurring the

informal associations toward this step was the crisis of "club" work. Everything that the informal political associations have worked on to this day—participation in developing draft laws, the pre-election campaign, and work with people's deputies—everything has required the coordination of forces. The principles of social democracy became the ideological basis for the new association.

One of the first steps on the path to coordinating the activities of the new domestic social democrats was the first social democratic school. It was held in Tallinn from 8 to 15 July. Activists from informal clubs in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Kharkov, Voronezh and many other cities throughout the country came to watch, study, and participate in discussions. They represented clubs and movements already well-known here, such as, for example, "Democratic Restructuring" from Moscow, "Restructuring" from Leningrad, and the Yaroslavl Popular Front, as well as those that few have heard of for the time being—the Moscow "Cooperative Socialism" group, for example.

Representatives of the Estonian informal movement, the initiators of a social democratic party in the republic, also attended the school's courses, as well as actively participated in its organization.

Along with the school's work, meetings of representatives from political clubs, organizations, and movements were held, in which organizational problems were debated in heated discussions. As a result of this work, the decision was made to create the Association of the Social Democratic Movement.

Today our interlocutor is Boris Orlov, head of the sector for problems of the international social democratic movement, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information in the Social Sciences, and doctor of historical sciences. He will acquaint us with the problems of contemporary social democracy and express his opinion regarding the prospects for its development in our country.

[Podvezko] In the minds of many, social democracy is still associated with opportunism, with something alien to Marxism and to the workers' movement... Does this image conform to the real state of affairs?

[Orlov] Let me remind you that in our day (1920s, 1930s) we still called social democrats "social fascists." But opportunists?.. Opportunists are those who betray the intended goal and principles of a movement. The social democrats have not once betrayed their chosen principles (the gradual reshaping of society). Just as they have not betrayed their intention of advancing increasingly further and further toward democratic socialism.

[Podvezko] However, in this regard they rejected the methods of revolutionary activities, as opposed to the communists. Why?

[Orlov] Because they were standing on solid earth, not soaring through the air. They believed that the market relations mechanism does not fetter initiative, enterprise, or the desire to produce more and better, but, conversely, opens up free range for them. Consequently, the social democrats presumed, the task was not to tighten the knot around the neck of the entrepreneur, but to compel him to pay hired workers more and to deduct more for social funds and the needs of society. Figuratively speaking, the logic of the social democrats was as follows: you can kill the cow and try to raise a new breed (which we have been doing these previous decades), or you can keep the cow that already exists, let it graze in a meadow, and undertake to distribute the milk obtained, seeing to it that the cow's desire to eat grass does not disappear. In this case, the Swedish social democrats especially became somewhat expert.

[Podvezko] Yet, in this context does the state remain capitalist?

[Orlov] If we speak of the state as the sum total of mechanisms for management, maintaining order, and distribution, it was never exclusively a class state in pure form. Even the classics of Marxism wrote about this. The state is in no condition to express the will of only one class, the more so of a group within this class. It simply loses its function: the regulation of conflict on a compromise basis among a number of interests, wills and desires, and to give them a civilized form of expression. It is another matter that different groups in society, along various channels, through the party in particular, try to influence the formation of the governmental course. The social democrats also take this circumstance into account, in attempting by participating in elections to achieve the support of the majority of the population and come to power legitimately. In this regard, they do not forget at all that parties reflecting the interests of entrepreneurs are ready to displace them at any moment. Let us recall, for example, that the conservatives of Great Britain, headed by M. Thatcher, displaced the labor party from power in 1979 and has been governing the country ever since. Yet the Swedish social democrats, having lost power to bourgeois parties for several years, later regained their lost positions. The struggle for power was and is extraordinarily sharp in nature. There is nothing for dilettantes or dogmatists, relying on old formulas, to do in this struggle.

[Podvezko] How can the results of the strategy chosen by the social democrats be evaluated?

[Orlov] I suppose they have no need to be ashamed of their work, although they continue to criticize themselves. They have achieved a high level of social defense for those whose interests they express, i.e., for hired workers. Moreover, they created a system of guarantees, which has been called the "social state." This is their greatest contribution to the development of world civilization. The state was established out of a need to regulate all aspects of society's life which are most important in a social respect—health care, education,

protection of the surrounding environment, science, etc.—spending public funds, which are ever increasing in volume, on this.

[Podvezko] However, private ownership of the means of production is kept here...

[Orlov] Not everything is so simple. The principle of ownership is kept, but the number of owners grows from year to year. The bigwigs and financiers who operate alone, as described in Dreiser's novels, are more the exception than the rule now. Joint stock companies are operating in which millions of people are stockholders. Having purchased even one or two shares, anybody can become a real co-owner. After all, he receives an income from his share or, as they used to say, he "clips coupons." Today, a phenomenon is becoming widespread, in which the employees purchase shares, under privileged conditions, of the same companies for which they work. In the strictly legal sense, they are co-owners. For a representative of dogmatic political economy, it is hard to discern: just who is exploiting whom here?

However, the social democrats go further. They are striving for enterprise owners to constantly make deductions from the basic production funds into the workers' fund. Here, the degree of co-ownership becomes even greater.

If one considers that the social democrats actively promote the creation of cooperatives, based on the collective ownership of enterprises formed by large public organizations (for example, trade unions), and that they support the socialization of companies and banks when this is deemed expedient (above all, economically), the conclusion suggests itself: capitalism, as described in Marx's works, and the society now actually existing in Western countries are, as they say in Odessa, "two big differences." We will not forget that different forms of democratic control have been established in all these types of enterprises and continue to be improved. What should such a society be called? At the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, Chingiz Aytmatov was in favor of considering such countries to be socialist already. I suppose that it is necessary to look into this a little more thoroughly. However, it is obvious that this is a substantial advancement toward a democratic socialist society.

[Podvezko] How will we describe **democratic socialism**? In quotes, or not? After all, right now we also speak of the USSR as a country of democratic socialism...

[Orlov] Without quotes, although we have used them for decades to show that this is "not our" term. If you wish, the whole revolution in our evaluation of the social democratic experience supports removing the quote marks. Past years have shown that the social democrats have been able to assert the interests of the working people. Their requirement: the improvement of society accompanied by the expansion of democracy. The CPSU, having taken a course toward restructuring social

relations, is also pursuing virtually the same goal. More socialism is more democracy, as the basic guideline of the CPSU was formulated.

[Podvezko] A democracy of democracies. Yet, nonetheless, there is still the problem of private ownership, of capital... How is this compatible with socialism?

[Orlov] You have touched on one of the main sore points in the public discussion. I believe that one of the shortcomings of Marxist thinking, and accordingly, of the chosen strategy, is the attempt to create economic relations without taking man's individual interests, peculiarities and aspirations into account. It was thought that one need only socialize production, and everybody would start working, not out of fear and not for rubles, but... just out of enthusiasm alone. This did not happen. Socialization turned into **governmentalization**, and it is fueling an uncontrolled party-state apparatus. The individual has been alienated—from co-ownership as well. After the brief period of "war communism," Lenin immediately realized the essence of the problem and called for a revision of the "fundamental view of socialism." Pay attention: fundamental! This is the essence of the NEP. There was an attempt at that time, and now there is an aspiration to return to market relations, which enable us to reveal the real cost of the labor expended by each and to display energy and initiative. To create, in short, a mechanism for the real democracy of the working people... Indeed, we must return to that which, for various well-known reasons, did not happen in the 1920s. Co-ownership, co-management, and the guiding role of central bodies, **formed by the people and controlled by the people**—these are the three main points that we should lean on in further development.

[Podvezko] However, after all, is this not approximately what social democracy is doing?

[Orlov] Entirely true! Yet, we are not taking this path because we want to imitate anyone. No, the logic itself for finding a way out of the crisis that we have found ourselves in has led us to such decisions. If this is so, why not look closely at that which social democracy developed? I never tire of repeating: a wise man always learns, but a fool always teaches.

[Podvezko] Is it not happening that the CPSU is turning into a social democratic party as a result?

[Orlov] Healthy forces in the CPSU want it to be a true voice of the mass interests, to draft the correct strategy, and to enjoy real, not past authority. What is bad if parties, which had formerly scattered to different sides and had pretended to reflect the interests of the working people, come together again not only in an identical understanding of solutions to global problems (this is already happening), but also in their approach to solving internal problems (of course, taking specific local features into account)? I think that the working man perceives this essentially historical convergence with approval, no matter where he lives—the USSR, Hungary or France. Only conservative circles in our party could

be skeptical of such a process. All of those who were, for decades, accustomed to administrating without control and enjoying privileges in this regard... This democratic socialism sticks in their throats. That is why they, in the guise of defending "socialist foundations," are actually undermining the course toward restructuring, accusing its "supervisors" of allegedly returning society to capitalism.

[Podvezko] When would you guess that everyone will be convinced of the need for radical reforms?

[Orlov] We simply have no time left to set things in action. The proposal by the Moscow Party Club (convening an extraordinary party congress and, at it, renewing the leadership and program of actions) is a step in the right direction. However, it is necessary to be well prepared and to draft an alternative, well-considered and convincing program. It is time to realize that he who wants renovation should include himself in this process, and not expect someone else to do this for him.

[Podvezko] Groups calling themselves social democratic began to appear first here, then there. They are drafting platforms and even setting up "schools." How do you relate to this?

[Orlov] Positively. The more people who assimilate social democratic principles (freedom, justice, solidarity) and methods of action (carrying out social and political reforms under democratic conditions), the sooner society's level of moral and political culture will increase. Healthy forces in the party, striving to renovate socialism on the basis of reform, are potential allies. As far as the conservatives are concerned, reformers are inconvenient for them both in the party, as well as beyond it. However, the conservatives can only hinder and obstruct. They have no alternatives and are in a blind defensive position (for the present, but I would not exclude other methods on their part in the future). The situation is exceptionally complex. A new search is being carried out, figuratively speaking, virtually right on top of the mine fields. However, there is no other way. For everyone who feels responsibility for the future of the people, of society, and of socialism, there is no other way.

#### **Uzbek First Secretary Karimov on Republic Social, Economic Issues**

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[Speech by I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee at the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee on 19 August 1989]

[Text] Comrades! Perestroyka in the country is undergoing a critical and difficult period. This was especially strikingly apparent at the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies, in sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and in the mass actions of workers in various regions of the country.

Now a situation has developed which demands the highest possible unification of all forces that favor a renewal of society. And first and foremost, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized a month ago at a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, there is a need for a perestroyka of party work. The people are tying their hopes for the success of perestroyka to the policy and practical activity of the CPSU. To a significant degree, this explains the serious criticism concerning party organizations. People are expecting resolutions of the most urgent problems—food, transport, trade, health care, housing construction, working conditions and wages, and conditions of rest and relaxation.

The situation is seriously complicated by a number of negative trends that have surfaced recently in the economy. The shortage of many consumer goods has increased perceptibly. Inflation has accelerated. The state budget deficit is dropping slowly. Production and work discipline have fallen noticeably.

All of this leads to an increase in social tension.

The acuteness of the national question is not lessening. Conflicts continue in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Baltics, and other republics. The recently published CPSU draft platform, "National Policy of the Party under Current Conditions," indicates that the resolution of problems that are arising has a tremendous significance for the fate of perestroyka and the future of our country.

Our republic also did not escape this and other contradictions and difficulties. At the same time the state of affairs in Uzbekistan is being aggravated by the appearance of a number of specific problems that are peculiar to the republic.

Permit me to dwell on several of the most serious problems that are of fundamental importance.

First, there is a complex demographic situation in the republic. According to data of the last census, in the last 10 years our population increased by 4.5 million persons, or by 30 percent, and it now totals 20 million persons. The rates of growth of the population in the republic exceed all-union growth by a factor of 3.

It must be acknowledged outright that such a population growth has not been supported over many years by a growth in jobs in industry and other branches of the national economy and the creation of the necessary conditions for the life support of the population. First of all, this means housing, food, health facilities, education, daily amenities, culture, in a word, all that is necessary today for the material and moral well-being of the people.

Hence, the growing unsettled state of the people, the increase in the number of those not engaged in the sphere of socially useful work, putting it more simply, the unemployed, the drop in society's labor productivity and the income of the population, and, in the final analysis,

a decrease in the welfare of the people. As statistics show, there are about 8.8 million persons living in Uzbekistan today, or 45 percent of the population, whose per capita income does not exceed 75 rubles. And if you consider that the subsistence wage, according to the calculations of specialists, is about 85 rubles, then you can judge for yourselves how difficult it is today for these people to make ends meet.

**Second**, there is a one-sided, I would say, hypertrophied specialization of the economy of the republic. It has turned out that, together with agriculture, branches for the initial processing of raw materials predominate in industry, and branches that produce finished products, first of all consumer goods, occupy an insignificant place. A substantial volume of agricultural raw materials (cotton fibers, raw silk, and many others) is taken out of the republic today, and at the same time, to satisfy the needs of the population for consumer goods, finished products in the sum of about R8-9 billion are brought in.

There has been an absolutely unsatisfactory development of such labor intensive progressive branches as electronics, instrument building, radio equipment, production of complex household appliances, and many others that could employ the surplus labor population of the republic better and more. Water-intensive and unhealthy trade have received unwarranted development in the republic.

It is necessary to re-examine the structure of agriculture itself in a very fundamental way, first of all taking into account the profitableness of the branches and their labor intensity, and the better utilization of the natural soil potential. And, of course, the state of affairs in the republic's cotton production warrants the most urgent attention: questions concerning the price for cotton and the elimination of monoculture. Price reform must also affect other agricultural crops and livestock products.

**Third**, the distribution of productive forces and, first of all, production facilities, occurred basically in a spontaneous way, but, more to the point, on the basis of voluntaristic and strong-willed decisions, frequently without any consideration for the recommendations of science, planning establishments, and authoritative specialists. This distribution has an especially negative effect today in the example of the city of Tashkent and cities of Tashkent Oblast, where about 50 percent of the industrial capacity of the republic is located, and the cities of Fergana, Andizhan, Kokand, Navoi, and a number of other regions of the republic.

It is difficult today to overestimate the tremendous damage that was inflicted on the economy of the republic and the economy of populated areas by such a distribution, and the main thing is that today this affects the life support of the population and the creation of the necessary conditions for people to live and develop in a harmonious way.

**The fourth question** and, perhaps, the most important question, concerns the absolutely unsatisfactory social

situation in the republic—social well-being and the social protection of the people. It is not possible to consider it a normal situation when only 5 percent of rural inhabitants are provided with a sewer system and running water, about 50 percent with normal drinking water, and 17 percent with natural gas, etc. It must be admitted that despite all of the measures that have been taken, there are still no major achievements in supplying them with housing and health facilities, schools, kindergartens, and cultural and everyday living amenities, etc.

Very little is being done for the social restructuring of the village, where an overwhelming majority of the population lives.

And what particularly worries us: Various programs and measures for the resolution of all of these extremely complex problems that have a direct effect on the living standard, the welfare, and the mood of the people, and which have been developed but which are weakly tied to each other, are being implemented in an absolutely unsatisfactory way. Practically nothing is being done to correct defects that were tolerated in the socio-economic development of individual regions of the republic.

You know that we will switch to cost accounting starting in 1991. But what kind of cost accounting are we talking about when the republic's budget will result in a large deficit, and when this deficit is not only not decreasing, but it is increasing?

The seriousness of the financial situation is also being aggravated by the fact that expenditures are restricted by a weak base in the income part of both the republic and local budgets. A rise in prices is seen everywhere. All of this evokes the just dissatisfaction of the people, and it promotes a rise in the critical mood with respect to local party and soviet organs.

What do we see as a way out of the situation that has set in? Of course, the simplest thing, as is done today, is to criticize everyone and everything, to try to find those to blame, etc. In my view, those behave unworthily who try to profit from criticizing a voiceless and defenseless past. The way out, obviously, is, first of all, to give an objective assessment of the state of affairs, based on the fundamental positions of our party, and to develop a specific and clear program for improving the situation in the republic. The main idea and content of this program, in our view, is, first and foremost, the consolidation and cooperation of all sound forces for the purpose of a radical and sharp improvement in the life and welfare of our people. In doing this, the results of the resolution of this task must be sensed by the people literally in the very near future, not postponing it to the end of the next 5-year plan or the year 2000.

And it is necessary, obviously, to start first of all with the establishment of firm order and discipline in all spheres of our life, and with a correct placement of managerial personnel and an increase in the demands on them.

Speaking of the consolidation of forces, we must be ready for cooperation and dialog with everyone who is not indifferent to the present and future of Uzbekistan, and who is trying to make his contribution to getting out of this difficult situation in which we find ourselves. It is very important today that everyone in his own position conscientiously and honestly performs the task assigned him, and that he displays initiative. This is the main condition for our movement forward.

The tenseness of the situation in the republic is also aggravated by the consequences of the tragic events in Fergana Oblast. They are felt even now and have an influence on us. I will say bluntly that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan is very uneasy about the socio-political and socio-psychological situation that has developed in the republic.

Speaking of the Fergana events, I would like to emphasize once more that the assessments that were made by individual elements of the mass media and by some concerned responsible managers attests most of all to their ignorance of the profound reasons for this tragedy. There are unfounded assertions about the alleged existence of some kind of nationalistic centers, which had as their objective the seizure of political authority in the republic, and attempts are being made to conceal ignorance of the situation, estrangement from the people, an inability to resolve pressing problems, and, in the final analysis, inactivity and failure.

An effort can be traced behind all of these attempts to defend the honor of the uniform and departmental and group interests and to create an unnatural distrust between people of different nationalities and a permanent source of destabilizing tension in the republic. Again and again words must be repeated from the Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers about the fact that the conscience of the Uzbek people is clear, that it was not by the will of the Uzbek people that the Fergana events occurred, and no matter who might speculate about this, while looking into the state of affairs or pursuing selfish objectives, history will make its just assessment. Internationalism, hospitality, goodwill, and sincere kindness were always characteristic of the Uzbek people—and this has been proved by many examples from ancient and modern history—and our people were never hostile with respect to other people.

It must be said along with this that the attempts to protect those to blame for this tragedy are also unsound. For the display of vandalism and the murder of people, fires, and pogroms, the guilty parties, no matter who they are, and whatever nationality they belonged to, should be and will be punished, so that no one henceforth would think of casting a shadow on the good name of the Uzbek people.

As is emphasized in the draft platform of the CPSU on the nationality question, a strengthening of trust between people is inseparably tied to political reform. Now as never before, the slogan "all power to the soviets" is vital. It must be implemented on a country and republic level, in each oblast, town, and rayon. This is a necessity of life.

Let us see, what are we doing to fulfill this slogan? The demarcation of functions between party and soviet and economic management organs is proceeding without the necessary consistency, and it is unsystematic. The reorganization of the staffs of party committees and the perestroyka of their structures do not yet fully ensure the management of the socioeconomic development of the republic. Individual branches of the economy were actually not given any attention. On the one hand, party committees rejected the branch principle of management. On the other hand, Soviet organs today are not ready and do not take responsibility on themselves for the resolution of painful, critical problems. They do not want in any way to depart from the usual situation—to be in the shadow of party committees. The stereotype prevails—a reluctance and fear of assuming the initiative and taking on responsibility.

Capital construction is a graphic example of this. No one in the central committee is now answerable for it. But there was a time when the secretary of the central committee and the department were involved in capital construction. Today this branch is practically outside party control. The Council of Ministers and corresponding soviet organs are occupied with this unsatisfactorily. What has this led to? Year in and year out plans for the introduction of basic funds fall through, and substantial volumes of capital investments remain unassimilated. The volume of incomplete construction today exceeds R5.3 billion, and it is one-third higher than the norm. An increase in long-term construction has led to a worsening of the already complex financial condition of the republic and to an increase in inflationary processes. And the crisis situation of the branch continues to worsen.

The country's Council of Ministers justly criticizes us for the fact that this branch in Uzbekistan has practically collapsed. And the most extraordinary measures have to be undertaken in order to rectify this situation.

Why do I speak about this in detail? Because without capital construction not one branch, and most of all the social sphere, will be able to develop further. Our population is growing, and it has to be fed, clothed, and provided with shoes. But we are not doing much building. The rates of construction are falling sharply. For the half-year, the introduction of social and cultural facilities amounted to only 44 percent of the annual sum. At the same time, the half-year plan is fulfilled. How will we guarantee the annual plan? What kind of planning is this? And who will answer for this?

But take a look at how the housing program is being fulfilled. We are barely able to cover just the growth of the population in every oblast and in every city. The situation remains complicated, and the provision of housing remains at the former level. Housing is aging and breaking down. And schools are also going out of operation, and thousands of schools and social and cultural facilities are in dangerous condition. This can no longer be tolerated. It is necessary that the state of affairs in capital construction is specifically examined in each rayon, city, and oblast, and that those to blame are called to account.

The question of executive discipline is tied into this directly. A simple conclusion suggests itself. The unhappy state of affairs in the branches of the national economy and the increase in tension in the mood of the people are directly linked to a weakening in discipline. Many managers substitute speechifying and paper shuffling for their inability to organize work. A phrase that has been around for a long time is still operative: Inform management in time and submit the question in a timely manner. But execution, organization, the mobilization of people, the search for ways of resolving complicated problems, and in the end the responsibility and the well-known risk for the consequences of a decision—all of this should be assumed by someone else. And this kind of mechanism continues to operate without a hitch.

Look at the figures: In the last half-year the Council of Ministers of the republic has adopted 1,484 orders and resolutions, i.e., 3-4 directive documents a day. For lack of necessary control, many of them are not implemented. Why are these documents needed if no one controls them. And what takes place in oblast, city, and rayon organizations?

In this situation it is necessary to change radically the attitude of managerial personnel toward work, and to increase their responsibility for the sector they are assigned.

Let us recall the words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, when speaking about the specificity of management he repeatedly emphasized that "in every case and under all circumstances without exception, collegiality must be accompanied by the most specific establishment of personal responsibility of each person for an accurately defined task," "but irresponsibility that is shielded by references to collegiality is the most dangerous evil."

It turns out that all of us answer for everything, but at the same time no one answers specifically for anything. It is very likely that this is the main evil for us today. It should not be surprising that with this kind of an approach things turn out poorly for us. And here a very important fact, in my view, should be noted: Those who wear themselves out working, not sparing themselves, receive the same evaluations as those who work in a slipshod way. It is of utmost importance to spot the good, initiative-driven, and thinking manager, and to create conditions for him for fruitful work. He must be

singled out and encouraged morally and materially. But what we get is a leveling. The outstanding worker and the poor worker are rated the same. We are afraid to make demands of the poor worker and to reward the good worker, because in either case it is necessary to assume responsibility.

I am convinced: At times with one good, kind word a person can, figuratively speaking, move mountains. But, unfortunately, we have simply forgotten about this kind of an approach of late. You see, trust gives a person a lift, and it gives him confidence in his own abilities. On the other hand, distrust and a prejudiced approach cause people to lose heart, and we lose so many capable comrades because of this.

All of us, the managers, must understand that our people today have a greater need for a good, sympathetic word than for rebukes, exhortations, and punishments that are sometimes unjust. The reasons for this are well-known to all of you: There has been a lack of a normal considered and respectful approach in our relations with people for too long a time. Personnel work in the republic needs serious restructuring. First of all, political, business, professional, and organizational qualities, and initiative and the ability to assume responsibility, must be of paramount importance in the selection of personnel. We are obliged to find capable and promising people, and there are enough of these in Uzbekistan. We must groom them and entrust them with primary sectors of work.

It is very important to advance young, promising local personnel, who know the situation, customs, and traditions well, in the right channels. The training of such personnel must be conducted on a wide scale and with a view to the future. Simultaneously, it is necessary to ensure the succession of personnel, and to return those to active work who were undeservedly removed from the list of activists, and who even today enjoy the prestige and respect of the population. This trust itself elevates them, and I am convinced that they will work with redoubled energy, not out of fear, but because of conscience, and in order to confirm the restored trust of the people.

All of this has a direct and immediate connection with today's discussions of accounts of the Andizhan and Khorezm obkoms [oblast party committee] concerning work to ensure the development of individual small holdings and housing construction in the village. A study of these problems locally and the accounts themselves showed that there is still more talk than action. Unfortunately, there has been no energetic movement after the adoption of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Uzbekistan Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR.

I appeal to the first secretaries of the obkoms, to the chairmen of the oblispolkoms [oblast soviet executive committee], and to the leaders of rayon elements, and I

want to emphasize once more: The fundamental political task today is not to be afraid and to overcome all difficulties on the way.

Today this is the simplest and quickest route to a resolution of those problems that face us. I will try to clarify this. Look, we have 240,000 village families today who do not own a plot of arable land. And more than 1.8 million yards critically need to be expanded for the construction of housing and the production of agricultural products. In cities, rayon centers, and settlements of a city type, the workers, because of a lack of plots of land, do not have the opportunity to conduct individual housing construction and collective fruit and vegetable gardening. In the city of Tashkent alone, 92,000 families are standing in line for a plot of land.

We made a lot of decisions on this question, but, unfortunately, there is no movement, and, therefore, this evokes righteous indignation and a sharp criticism of all of us, the party and soviet managers.

What kinds of questions do we want to resolve by increasing land allotments?

First, the food problem. One hectare of land of a private farm gives four times more output than in the public sector. The return from a 1-hectare private farm holding is R12,500, and in the public sector it is only R3,000.

In the republic, only 5 percent of the arable land is devoted to private farm holdings, but they produce one-fourth of the gross agricultural product. Their share is more than half of all vegetable products, melons and gourds, and meat, and two-thirds of the milk. But if we resolve the problem and allot plots of land to all who need them? What a relief it will be for people if we remove all of the unnecessary obstacles on these questions. This is why they must be resolved without delay and why we must examine from a position of social justice in what order, on what scale, and over what periods the land allotments should be made. We expect that the local commissions established for this will examine all of these questions objectively and efficiently.

Second, this will really move the decision on the housing program forward. It must be clearly understood that without individual housing construction we will not resolve the task set by the party to provide each family with a separate apartment or home by the year 2000. The proportion of individual housing construction is more than 60 percent of the housing program, and this target is being fulfilled today at a level of 80-90 percent. And the principal impediments are the allocation of land plots, monetary loans, and the necessary building materials. We must speed up the decision to give people land, to give them loans and building materials, and to hook up water, sewer, and gas lines. And the people will build.

But today all of this is provided a person with great difficulty and sweat. He has to go through all of the obstacles of the bureaucratic apparatus. What officials and bureaucrats he has to overcome! There is extortion

and lawlessness here, and a complete lack of understanding of the political meaning of this question. But the party and soviet organs have gotten accustomed to this situation. Look at how many letters come to the central committee, and many of them cry from the heart. People say that giving and taking bribes during the allocation of land plots has become commonplace, and no one locally fights against the extortion of high-handed officials.

There is a need for absolutely different approaches, and real battle has to be given to everything that stands in our way and that creates a rift between us and the people. Party committees and soviet organs must analyze all of the facts in a fundamental way, give them a political evaluation, and ensure social protection from the whims of a bureaucratic apparatus. Legal protection organs, the public prosecutor, and the courts must come to the defense of a person's rights. The people demand this of us.

Third, a decision is also being made here on the unemployment problem. Let us take the Fergana Oblast as an example. There are 149 kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] here. If each of these farms sets up a building brigade of 50-60 persons and they are supplied with building materials, they could build housing according to a contract with the people. Because of this alone, 7,500 people could be employed. But it would be more if the farms established individual units for the manufacture of bricks, carpentry articles, etc. In Khorezm Oblast, for example, this made it possible, along with overcoming a shortage of building materials, to employ an additional 2,500 persons in production in 3 years. This is a direct way of involving people in social production. They can be issued labor books, and they can be provided with pensions. In addition, if you consider that they will be building for themselves and that through their personal plots they will provide their families with food products, then the gain from this is obvious.

Fourth, to a certain extent, we will also be able to resolve the problem of the employment of women. They constitute a significant part of those who are not employed in socially useful labor. Of course, in large families women are burdened with worries about rearing children and taking care of the home. In general I must say that I have reservations about statements that relegate women-mothers who rear the future citizens of our country under domestic conditions to the unemployed category. There is something to think about here for our scholars and specialists. First of all, they could work usefully on the personal plots for their own families. Their relationship to the farm could be established with a contract, according to which they would grow agricultural products and turn them over to the state, that is, they would be engaged in socially useful labor. And this means that it would be possible to calculate length of labor service for them, and the allocation of an eventual pension.

Fifth, the question of social and political stability is also resolved. When people have nothing to do, or they cannot find something to do themselves, this is a problem, especially among the youth. A pointless use of time pushes them into antisocial delinquency, crime, and hooligan behavior. The tragic events in Fergana showed this with great clarity.

We are bringing up a new generation, but many youths do not have a specialty, and they are not disciplined to work. These people will replace us. What will they be like? Who thinks about this today?

We are criticized throughout the country when we enlist the youth in agricultural work. Of course, there have been extremes in this work, which at times took on a monstrous form, and they cannot be allowed. But I am firmly convinced that every person has to become accustomed to work at an early age. The allocation of plots of land will inspire youth to work, and this will instill in them a feeling of being a master of the land and work habits. Is it not a paradox that one-fifth of the private yards in rural localities do not keep any kind of livestock, 37 percent do not have cows, and a half do not raise sheep? And the situation is even worse in the Andizhan, Namangan, and Tashkent oblasts.

As you see, comrades, such a seemingly simple question as the allotment of land for rural workers today assumes not only a socio-economic, but also a real political significance. Therefore, we deemed it necessary today to hear the accounts of two obkoms. And I want to emphasize once more that all party committees and ispolkoms [executive committee] of local soviets must treat the entire complex of these problems with the highest sense of responsibility, and that we must not let people become disenchanted again with our ability to resolve the critical social and economic questions that are troubling them.

This is also especially important with the election reports campaign that has started, the forthcoming elections to local soviets of people's deputies, and the accounts of elective party organs. They should serve the strengthening of the organizational and ideological unity of party organizations and the consolidation of all healthy forces. Every party committee and every party organization must have its own platform and its own program of action of resolving problems of socio-economic development, and the stabilization of the socio-political situation. In the final analysis, it is a question of the restoration and reinforcement of the authority of all elements of the party. But, today, people make judgments according to specific deeds and tangible results.

We must pay more attention, comrades, to the problems of youth. Now the state of the youth movement in the republic is especially disturbing. We would like to see our Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] at the head of this movement; however, we must painfully note that it is losing the position of leader to a great degree. Many Komsomol workers have fenced themselves in with bureaucratic barriers, are engaged in

scribbling, and do not understand the local situation well. But a vacuum does not exist anywhere. Where we are absent, others take our place in working with the youth and the people. This should not be forgotten.

We must not voluntarily put our young people into strange hands, and we must aggressively fight for them, so that they would grow up to be regular people, and real patriots of their land and their country.

The proper conclusions have to be drawn from all of this. It is necessary to recreate a young political organization which would become the vanguard and move from a small guardianship to comradely cooperation. We should all study and know the situation in the youth environment, prepare real leaders for Komsomol committees, help them resolve social problems, and bring up genuine patriots and internationalists.

I would especially like to dwell on problems of cotton-growing and the state of affairs today in the cotton fields. On one-fourth of the area planted under cotton, from one to four bolls are gathered, i.e., only half of what is necessary to fulfill the plan.

Work in the fields has become sharply weakened in recent days. There are quite a few cases of irresponsible attitudes towards looking after crops. We are even losing the collected harvest because of drying off and an unseasonable fight with agricultural pests.

There is difficulty with water. Meanwhile, there are serious shortcomings with the organization of irrigation. Frequently, water is not used rationally, and overwatering and flooding are observed. The shortage of water has to be made up with additional treatment.

Machine harvesting is not being prepared for earnestly everywhere. The periods for the preparation of harvesters are being dragged out. About 4,000 harvesters are still not ready for operation. There is a low readiness of ground equipment for conducting defoliation.

All of these shortcomings are the result of a weakening of organizational and political work locally, and the lessening of demand from the managers of administrative organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. We are especially troubled by the complacency and unconcern displayed by many. I would like to emphasize that the person who nourishes the hope of attributing shortcomings to a spring frost is sadly mistaken. We have had and still have the time to correct the situation, and to gather a harvest that ensures the fulfillment of the state order for cotton production. And we must build our work on these positions. August and September are the months in which the fatigue of people who work on cotton plantations is especially perceptible. Therefore, it is necessary to be concerned about them first, about those who work in the fields and who are adapting to leasing and cost accounting. Party and soviet organs and primary party organizations are called on to concentrate their activity in labor collectives and, in a timely way, to resolve problems that come up. Field camps should be activated,

and conditions should be created for highly productive labor of irrigation workers, machine operators, laborers, and collective farmers.

For the remaining 15-20 days before harvest-time, it will be necessary for everyone to work intensively and to gather a harvest that will be needed to fulfill the plan.

While looking after the cotton workers with more care, we must not lessen the work in other branches of agriculture and livestock raising. We are readying roughage unsatisfactorily. The farms are lagging last year by 25-30 percent. The quality of fodder also remains low. All of this is a threat to the fulfillment of plans. We have to look into every farm and correct the situation.

Of course, every sphere has its own peculiarities. Accordingly, the approaches and the decisions can be different. It is important that party committees and soviet organs, relying on labor collectives, determine specific ways and methods to improve matters.

Now a little about what disturbs all of us sitting here and all inhabitants of the republic. The question concerns the volume of cotton production for next year. The plan for 1990 envisions purchases of cotton fiber on the order of 1.5 million tons as against 1.710 million tons in 1988, or 210,000 tons less. Everyone can figure out for himself how much this will be in the conversion to raw cotton. Why do I not speak of raw cotton and what its volume will be next year? Well, because we will not plan this figure for next year. Each kolkhoz and sovkhoz will set its own volume, proceeding first of all from its own economic advantages and its own profits, in a word, from its own economic feasibility, based on cotton fiber tasking that is set for it. The collective of each kolkhoz and sovkhoz will decide what and how much to sow, taking into account the specific features and peculiarities of each individual region and its specialization and zealous utilization of the natural soil conditions.

Another and fundamental question is the question about cotton prices. We were with our draft 1990 plan twice in Union organs, and we met with leaders of the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] of the country. Today I can report to you with absolute responsibility that the question of prices for raw cotton will be examined in the next few months. According to calculations, we need no less than R1.5 billion to solve this problem. This problem is treated with great understanding in the Union, and they see that the interests and welfare of virtually the entire population of the republic is tied to its resolution.

It must be said frankly today that we said a lot and continue to say a lot about this but, to our great regret, we are unable to state the problem correctly and in a well-reasoned and well-grounded way. And we must stop all of the discussions about the fact that Moscow treats us badly and that it does not resolve questions we raise. We, the managers, have to state these questions correctly and persistently, and we must consistently strive for

their resolution, and assume responsibility in all cases, and not nod in someone's direction, or hide behind somebody.

Very intensive work lies ahead of us. And we must do everything to strengthen discipline, repeat, discipline, to increase the responsibility of personnel, to act energetically and with initiative, and to strengthen the authority of party organizations through deeds and improvement in the life of our people.

#### Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputies on NKAO, Nationalities Issues

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[Armenpress report: "To Respect the Sovereign Rights of Peoples. An Extraordinary Session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Deputies and others attending the Extraordinary 10th Session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet 11th Convocation expressed great alarm and justified indignation in connection with the tension that has been created in Soviet Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh by the economic blockade, the disruption of people's lives, and the explosive situation in the region in general. They described all this as a manifestation of open violence and encroachment by Azerbaijan on the sovereign of a USSR republic and its people. In our country, which is taking steps to create a law-governed state, these firebrand, unlawful, antidemocratic actions, whose aim is through pressure to force the Armenian people to abandon their legitimate demands, should be given an objective political assessment and become the subject of general condemnation. Those present at the session demanded that the central government take urgent steps to end the blockade of Soviet Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and create for the workers in the republic opportunities to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake and focus their efforts in following the course of perestroika.

In his speech Z. Balayan recognized the civic duty of deputies to safeguard the interests of perestroika against all those who are trying to blame the Armenian population of the NKAO for the manifestations of political, national and social protest, and protest against the democratization and glasnost proclaimed by the April Plenum. He cited a number of instances and documents from the distant and near past which testify that the people of Artsakh have always been subject to pressure and have always protested against violation of their rights.

We have been insisting for a long time that in our country the national question has been solved once and for all and, they say, that Bolshevism put an end to everything created by all kinds of landowners and nobles. This is all false. It is precisely perestroika that has illuminated this very dark past.

Refugees. A terrible phenomenon. Particularly if we take into account that people are being forcibly driven out not simply from the place where they live, where they are registered, so to speak, but out of their homeland where their forefathers have tilled the land for thousands of years. And here we have heard more than once how the supporters of Nina Andreyeva see perestroyka. Well, they say, these phenomena did not occur before perestroyka. I would like to throw this back in the face of all those who believe that there are no problems, nor ills, nor tragedies in Karabakh but only delays in perestroyka: "Leave perestroyka absolutely alone, do not make holes in the only life preserver." On our region nothing has changed in 70 years. Perhaps to some degree there has been change, but only in the methods of coercion, which have become even more monstrous. Proof of this is Sumgait. Sumgait, which did not fall from the heavens, Sumgait, which has shown that the Artsakh are right in their revolutionary manifestation of their protest.

Why are Aliyev, Bagirov, Seidov, Orudzhev and all the direct organizers of the genocide not held responsible for Sumgait? The people who are capable of organizing Sumgait and the blockade have today shown the entire world that they have no moral right to command the Artsakh. The blockade itself and the profanation and destruction of the memorials to twice Hero of the Soviet Union Nelson Stepanyan and Marshal Bagramyan, and the destruction of railroad trains carrying freight into the disaster zone, of course, do not speak of Azerbaijan's strength or of the notorious Azeri factor. They speak only of the weakness of our legal state, whose social and political diagnosis has been made by perestroyka. What is now happening in the country would have certainly happened by the year 2000 even if there had been no perestroyka. But then all processes would have been irreversible. That is how the future will assess the role of perestroyka, which has linked its fate closely to the fate of the Artsakh.

The republic Supreme Soviet session has acted correctly in distinguishing several of the urgent issues and making them the subject of discussion, said deputy **G. Asatryan**. Among the most painful is the question of Karabakh and the Artsakh problem. You are all well aware of the efforts that have been made over the past 18 months by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and our leadership, both here and in Moscow, to find a just, correct, and constitutional solution to the Karabakh and Artsakh questions, but there have been numerous obstacles along the road and the question has still not been finally resolved, but now the Artsakh are under blockade, and not only the Artsakh. The initiators of the blockade have not been satisfied with Nagorno-Karabakh, and this is now the second month that they have also been blockading Soviet Armenia. Each day, each hour, the increasingly baneful consequences of this blockade are being felt in Yerevan. In September alone the republic's capital failed to take reception of 10,000 freight cars and the last resources of food, fuel, and

materials used in industry are almost exhausted. The question arises of how it has become possible in our conditions, in the conditions our country, in our times, for one all-union republic to cut off the life's artery of another republic. We pose the question but we cannot provide a proper answer to it. A year ago we had strikes, as they did in Nagorno-Karabakh. At that time the knights of the all-union press put together the numbers and did the multiplications and calculated how many millions of rubles of losses the country's market had sustained and how many billions of damage had been done because the condensers and the small spare parts. And where are the pens of these knights now, where are they and where are the other people and the other officials, who are not even calculating the immediate losses?

It would be proper to pose the question to the all-union organs with greater sharpness. The question of guarantees of safety for Armenians both in Azerbaijan and in Nagorno-Karabakh, and also in Armenia itself, particularly in the border regions, should be raised at the level of a resolution adopted by the session.

About two weeks ago when a meeting took place in the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow between members of the Communist Party Central Committee bureos from the two republics we raised all these questions, and several days later there was a special meeting of the Central Committee Politburo, which discussed these questions. I think that the decisions that we reach today and the documents that will be approved by this session will become another very important impetus for the comrades from Azerbaijan to understand that you cannot maintain a blockade against an entire republic, the more so after a natural disaster.

The speaker at the same time dealt with the question of organizing work under the blockade conditions. We must do everything, he said, to make rational use of available reserves in establishments and enterprises and in the labor collectives. These resources must be allocated primarily to the organizations that insure the life's activity of the city.

Because of the artificial obstacles that have been raised, not without the knowledge of the leadership in the neighboring republic, tens of thousands of freight cars destined for Armenia have been piling up on the territory of Azerbaijan, and this when most of the freight has been dispatched for victims in the disaster areas, said deputy **A. Petrosyan**.

To the point, since the first days following the earthquake, when the peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire world rushed to provide material and moral aid, large numbers of the temporary houses sent through Azerbaijan have arrived in our republic ransacked or damaged.

In the existing situation, when the Azeri side is not providing guarantees for normal operations on the railroads, a deputy appealed to the USSR Ministry of

Defense and USSR Ministry of Railways, demanding that they use appropriate military subunits to insure uninterrupted operations on the railroads. Taking into account the situation that has now been created on the railroads and past experience of work, he believes that the urgent task now is to build a new railroad for the republic. It is time of the Armenian government to turn to the all-union government with a suitable proposal to lay a railroad from Leninakan through Gukasyan to Akhalkalaki, which would link the republic by a short route Georgia and the center. It is advisable to build a motor highway parallel to the railroad, which would be in line with present-day world practice in railroad construction.

In his speech USSR people's deputy M. Surkov noted this: The problem of the NKAO and everything connected with that problem has evoked my great personal attention, and as a man and a communist and a deputy I share the viewpoint that a political settlement of this issue is essential as quickly as possible, and I am deeply convinced that in our society there cannot be forms of struggle such as economic blockade, picketing and even less the use of armed forms of struggle.

Like my comrades I have been entrusted with the task of doing service on the territory of Armenia. I am able to report that the overwhelming majority of the Armenian people are treating our service with respect and understanding, and that normal, healthy, and businesslike relations exist between servicemen and the inhabitants of Armenia.

According to our assessment, following the introduction of the curfew, and even before, not one serviceman in the Soviet Army, I repeat, Soviet Army, has been physically abused.

Recently, however, at some meetings, gatherings and conversations there have been accusations that the Soviet Army is not protecting the people of the NKAO and that the army is killing Armenian youths, and that it is necessary to create national formations, and so forth.

At the 1st USSR Congress of People's Deputies, at the initiative of a number of delegations the Soviet Army was subjected to sharp criticism, including accusations of "occupation and punitive measures," and so forth, and deputies raised the question of the functions of the Soviet Army and unanimously wrote into a Congress resolution the demand that the Soviet Army should be involved only in its own affairs, that is, with the business of the country's security. We are therefore prepared to defend and will defend our Soviet people against any foe. And I would very much like that people approach this statement with understanding.

Personnel among the troops deployed on the territory of Armenia understand the acute nature of the situation that has taken shape in the region and they shared the pain and loss of the Armenian people in the days of the calamity. Right from the start the troops played a most

active part in rescuing people and material values, and in providing help for the stricken population.

The troops are now building 25 apartment houses with 1,068 apartments, 2 kindergartens with places for 350 children, and three schools with places for 720 students, and today two have already been commissioned, in Leninakan and Kirovakan. Notwithstanding, mutual relations remain cool. We have complete mutual understanding with party and soviet organs at all levels. All honorable people are fulfilling their duty.

Deputy O. Shcherbakova took the microphone.

I am extremely concerned about the situation that has taken shape in Artsakh and Armenia, she said.

I am a Russian and my grandfathers and I were born in Armenia. For me Armenia is my indigenous homeland. Accordingly, the interests of Armenia are my interests, Armenia's bitterness is my bitterness, Armenia's pain is my pain.

Our people are now living through hard and difficult days: a destructive earthquake, a mess of unresolved interethnic questions, the bitterness of people who have lost their nearest and dearest, the streams of refugees.

I am a deputy for the city of Dilizhan, and all the pain and all the problems are reflected in that city as in a drop of water. Today in Dilizhan city there are about 7,000 homeless people, along with 2,000 earthquake victims from Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak, and 500 refugees from Azerbaijan, and their social and economic problems have not been resolved...

In this time, which is so difficult for us, we have felt the truly fraternal help from the Soviet people. In Dilizhan construction workers from Moldavia, Georgia, Tyumen, and Moscow are living side by side with the Armenians and restoring the city and industrial enterprises.

This warms our hearts.

However, what talk can there be of internationalism if your neighbor, who for decades has been considered a well-wisher and a brother, has today blockaded not only the Artsakh but also Armenia?

Hundreds of thousands of tons of construction materials, fuel, metal structures, foodstuffs, medicines, and equipment for temporary housing earmarked for restoring my suffering homeland as quickly as possible have been held up at the railroad stations in Azerbaijan.

I read recently in the newspaper BAKINSKIY RAB-OCHIY a reportage, whose authors were Russian by nationality, claiming that in ancient times the Artsakh belonged to Azerbaijan.

I do not blame them because today the Azeri mass media and intelligentsia have developed large-scale anti-Armenian propaganda. Here they are not being stopped either by historical facts or by their own consciences.

I am a Russian, or, more accurately, a Russian daughter of the Armenian people. I am extremely dissatisfied with the mass media in Armenia, which are not calling on us to speak out as they are in Azerbaijan. For living together we have a common way of thinking, a common home, a common pain.

Today the situation is critical and very alarming, said deputy **B. Stepanyan**. Instead of lifting the blockade of Artsakh our neighbors have placed a blockade on all of Armenia and have done great damage to our economy. And the danger is constantly growing: People who at one time declared themselves our friends are now openly calling for war and threatening to drown Karabakh in blood. Today the Artsakh problem is no longer purely an Artsakh problem because it is not only Artsakh but the whole of Armenia that is under blockade. Our session must show a positive attitude toward the Artsakh movement and the creation of a national council. Perhaps someone might think that we should recognize it constitutionally. Then we would reply that it is not constitutional to create anarchy in an autonomous oblast of the Soviet Union and deprive the oblast of soviet and party leadership. The formation of a national council must be regarded as the result of the unjustified delay in resolving the Artsakh problem. Say what you will, there is much injustice. It is no secret that the Sumgait crimes, which were the start of the 1988 crisis, have still not been politically assessed, and the murderer and the innocent victim are being put on the same level. To this day central television and the press continue to distort the facts and are interpreting events incorrectly. In the land of the Soviets they are blockading an entire republic and no one does anything about it. It is essential to fight against this injustice, essential to protest, but we must fight on a united front.

Another very important circumstance should also be noted. Over the past 20 months the Artsakh has been seething, and our republic has been seething, and meanwhile no appropriate public opinion has been shaped in the Soviet Union. And we are also to blame for that. The republic press—the newspapers **KHORURDANI AYASTAN** and **YEREKOYAN YEREVAN**, the journal **GARUN**, and all the periodicals—are really printing numerous materials and articles throwing light on the historical facts, which for decades have been falsified and distorted, especially by our neighbors. It is undoubtedly a good thing that finally the truth is coming out. Sometimes, however, it is like salt thrown into an open wound, since when one reads this material one recognizes with bitterness that you are the only one to know it. In my opinion, the effect would have been much greater if even 10 percent of the pieces published in the republic newspapers had appeared in the central press and periodical press in the all-union republics.

The moment has come, said candidate of economic sciences **I. Muradyan**, when the members of the republic parliament should understand the essential nature of the Karabakh movement and make decisions worthy of our people's struggle.

In a complex and rapidly changing situation we have probably failed to notice the radical turn that has taken place in the national liberation struggle of the people of Artsakh. In Artsakh the movement has thrown off false illusions and rejected the discredited methods of calculated for democratization of society and shifted to specific actions aimed at the political, cultural, and economic assimilation of Artsakh by Armenia, that is, consistent transformation of a national hotbed de facto into Armenia. It would be superfluous to enumerate all the actions that have been taken in this direction. But it is essential to understand that we now face an inevitable fact: Artsakh has for a long time not been subordinate to Azerbaijan, and from all the parameters is becoming Armenia. It is impossible to prevent this, whether with the help of the law enforcement apparatus, or the campaign of slander in the central press, or by strikes and meetings in Baku.

Taking this into account, the deputies of the Armenian Supreme Soviet should display perspicacity and national dignity and should adopt five documents that are capable of bringing the Karabakh movement to the finish: a declaration on the reunification of the Armenian people, assign the republic council of ministers to pass a resolution enabling ministries, departments, and associations in Armenia to take into their systems appropriate enterprises and organizations in Nagorno-Karabakh, pass a law on citizenship of the Armenian SSR and offer this right to the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh, by special ukase offer the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh the right to elect deputies to our republic's Supreme Soviet, and proclaim Shaumyanovskiy rayon and Getashen as part of the NKAO.

Under present conditions those decisions will be a real manifestation of the sovereignty about which so much is being said and which remains just a slogan put forward at meetings. The social base of the Karabakh movement is the Armenian people, which recognizes you as its government. When it is a question of the survival of our nation, but not constitutional pettifogging. The sovereignty of the Armenian people over Artsakh is the only possible way to reach this goal.

The agenda of this session of the Supreme Soviet, chief of the Armenian SSR Military Commissariat Political Section **E. Gevorkyan** noted, includes the burning question of how to winds ways to insure the guaranteed safety of life for the Armenian population in Artsakh, Baku, and other parts of Azerbaijan.

At this session, and at a past session of the republic Supreme Soviet, a poll of deputies was conducted on offering our young people an opportunity to do their service on Armenian territory. Because of the time constraints, let me respond briefly to this question.

We have never avoided this problem but have met at the most varied levels with draftees and their parents and representatives of the Armenian women's movement, and the public. This question has been raised in both

verbal and written form even with the USSR Ministry of Defense. In particular, literally yesterday we had a meeting with leading workers in the military commissariats of all the districts, where at our insistent request they discussed the question of increasing the number of draftees for service in Armenia in the military construction detachments working in the disaster zones up to 15 to 20 percent. We are prepared to discuss the matter again with all interested persons and with all public organizations. In conclusion I would like to ask all deputies to whom the fate and future of our people is dear and who are not indifferent to concepts such as honor, dignity, national pride, and homeland, to cast aside all ambitions and forget reprisals and discord and grudges and stand above petty vainglory, and offer an example of high parliamentary standards, wisdom, patience, and respect for the individual, and, with everyone stating his views, make the decisions that today all the Armenian people are awaiting.

The beautiful word "Miatsum", coined in February last year and now firmly established in our lexicon, should not become an abstract slogan but a practical guide for you, comrade deputies, in resolving all the issues concerning the fate and future of the nation.

As the newly elected leader of the communists of Leninakan, said Armenian Communist Party Leninakan Gorkom first secretary **T. Sarkisyan**, it is quite incomprehensible to me how in this country, in our federation, which is our common home, some small corner can be transformed into this present torture chamber that it has become. And the press is maintaining a complete silence even though an entire nation faces what are perhaps the most difficult trials in its history.

In all probability, in resolving issues people resort to oversimplification in order to avoid difficulties. But the most difficult is to defend the truth. It is not our fault, and it was without our knowledge, that our borders have been recarved, nor was it our wish or desire that we find ourselves in this impasse with the railroads and highways.

The target of the leadership in the neighboring republic and of certain circles there can be seen with the naked eye—siege, blockade, and through unlawful actions undermining any solution to the Karabakh problem.

Leninakan, Spitak, Kirovakan and Stepanyan, and hundreds of Armenian villages were in seconds turned into disaster zones. As we bow our heads in honor of the tens of thousands of innocent victims and of those who were buried and those who were not, it must be acknowledged that it is not only earth tremors that take lives.

Talking about the problem of Leninakan, the speaker noted that from 7 December down to this day much has been done to restore the city, but not everything that could have been done has been done. Of the 800,000 square meters of housing planned, in these last months on 2,000 square meters have been handed over.

Each city is a living organism, and even more so Leninakan, which has been formed over the centuries and acquired its own historical lineament. And today we face the task of rebuilding the territory of the old city and of restoring and strengthening damaged buildings.

The idea of restoring the houses on the traditional territory of Leninakan evokes no doubts today, the more so since its center holds one of the pearls of popular creativity in Armenia—the "Kumayri" historical architectural park with its now half-ruined folk houses and churches and other historical monuments.

Restoring all this will require much urgent work and a corresponding material-technical base, the speaker said. And to lay all this on the not very powerful shoulders of local construction organizations with their limited facilities means to condemn the old city to death right from the start. The people of Leninakan are watching with pain as buildings that could be strengthened are gradually falling into ruin.

Old Leninakan, or more accurately the real Gyumri, should be restored. And this is not just a construction program but also a national program.

For 2 years the Armenian people, who wholeheartedly approve the course of perestroyka, have been waiting for some gleam of hope, waiting for justice. On behalf of the Armenian people the republic Supreme Soviet should pass a resolution demanding that the central authorities review seriously the question of the unlawful blockade of Armenia and find a just solution to the Artsakh question.

Deputy **R. Oganesyan** expressed the opinion that resolution of the Artsakh question is being quite erroneously linked to some particular article in the Constitution, for everyone knows that most of the articles in the Constitution were created during the time of Stalin and Brezhnev, and that particular articles of this Constitution are so elastic and so contradictory that they enable endless violations or evasion of them. How can we cling to some point of the Constitution that is totally refuted and negated by Lenin's eternal tenet on the right of nations to self-determination. To the point, in the new CPSU platform on the national question this Leninist idea is mentioned with circumspection, and only once. When he discussed all the forms typical of capitalist colonial policy, Lenin proclaimed the right of nations to self-determination. Unfortunately, illness prevented him from working on this idea in depth under the conditions of Soviet federation. Subsequently, a model was created whose ramshackle elements are today being destroyed over the inglorious memory of its creators—Stalin and Zhdanov, and Brezhnev and Suslov. Everyone knows what has happened in the last decades in Nakhichevan and Karabakh, and to what oppression the Armenians in Azerbaijan have been subjected, and also Kurds, Jews, Russians and representatives of other nations. And now the Azeri rulers are leaning over backwards and resorting to all possible kinds of political and criminal open and secret insinuations and machinations in order to prolong

their colonial rule. One classic colonial country—capitalist England—showed more tolerance toward the principle of self-determination for nations that were its former colonies than socialist Azerbaijan today, which for some reason remains deaf to the voice of the Armenians in Artsakh and is striving by the grossest means to suppress the movement born out of the spirit of perestroika.

In their speeches deputies **S. Muradyan** and **R. Kazaryan** drew the attention of those present to the need to offer constructive proposals; general discussion and assessments of the matter will not help. The main question is what to do to find a just solution to the Artsakh problem so as to extricate the republic from the situation that has been created.

Deputy **R. Kazaryan** pointed out that the question of the NKAO has deliberately been made a bone of contention and the subject of a dispute between two republics. Our task is to show the unsoundness of this desire and find a way out of the impasse by some constitutional, parliamentary route.

The deputy announced a number of proposals for a solution to the NKAO that should be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

While giving due consideration to the fact that the 20 February 1988 decision of the NKAO Oblast Council stems from the constitutional right of the oblast's population to self-determination, while the infamous acts in Sumgait were an attempt to cover the population of the NKAO by force and shift the question into the field of interethnic disputes, the deputy pointed out by resolution the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet should petition the USSR Supreme Soviet for recognition of the decisions reached at the 20 February 1988 and 9 July sessions of the NKAO Oblast Council, in which the people of the NKAO resolved the question through their highest authority. The competence of the USSR Congress of Peoples' Deputies is not to review or put an adopted decision to the vote but only to recognize the decision of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Council on reunification with Soviet Armenia.

First secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Megrinskiy raykom, **R. Megrabyan**, noted that in the past year the rayon has repeated been in a maelstrom of interethnic disturbances.

The condition of the roads has become a barometer of the political atmosphere in the rayon. Today, Megri is linked to the capital only by air. And there are interruptions even here. And I should add that because of the lack of fuel is it impossible to establish communication via the only mountain road linking Kafan and Yerevan. Construction, industry, and work in the sphere of essential services have been disorganized. Only with great difficulty it is possible to bring in the harvest grown with such effort.

According to the classical Leninist definition a railroad is an extraterritorial organization of all-union subordination. And if today our government is unable to cut short the arbitrariness and remove the blockade then it is necessary for military subunits to take over control and maintenance of the Azerbaijan Railroad, and subsequently transfer it to the subordination of the Transcaucasus Railroad. There is another important question. Construction of the Vardenis-Dzhermuk railroad lines should have been started in the middle of the last five-year plan. There is information available to the effect that the Azerbaijan government has refused to give its consent for the laying of the small section through its territory. Evidently the project was not properly developed: for a length of almost 60 kilometers the railroad is to pass through a sparsely populated locality at an altitude of 2,000 meters with no economic centers. It is essential to conduct an urgent review of line routed Zangezur-Megri from the Yeraskh station to Vayots village [dzor], and start the design and construction work immediately. Later it will be necessary to do specific work to start construction of the Megri-Kadzharan tunnel. And before that it is essential to make an urgent start on construction of a Shvanidzor-Tsav highway.

USSR people's deputy **B. Dadamyan** took the floor.

In all the years that Soviet power has existed, he said, there has been no more just demand than that of the people of Karabakh.

The problem raised by the people of Karabakh is a political problem, and it must be resolved only by political means.

Everyone knows, however, that the opposing side always subordinates policy to violence. Violence is an admission that there are no arguments; violence is proof that all our slogans about friendship and internationalism, and our ideological work have been insubstantial. And I deeply regret the fact that Moscow is virtually indulging this.

We demand reunification with Armenia; this is a final decision but under real conditions only subordination to the center will be possible. Similarly with the proclamation of an oblast on all-union territory: we can regard this only as an interim solution since a final solution is reunification with homeland Armenia; there is no alternative.

We believed that the Special Administration Committee set up in January was an acceptable form for subordination to the center. It was only after some time that we realized that this was not so. Why eliminate the oblast council and party obkom? For they have for all practical purposes been eliminated to please Baku. What is Moscow thinking? Is it necessary to eliminate soviet power in order to stabilize the situation? We asked for the restoration of the oblispolkom, but unfortunately this has remained only a promise. In this connection the idea arose of setting up a national council, which has been set up.

This national council is not a seizure of power. Its aim is to achieve the rapid restoration of constitutional forms of administration. Later it will unite the whole people as an unofficial association. Until then it will administer the oblast in the context of the Special Administration Committee, and we ask you to recognize our national council on this plane.

We believe that Armenia should understand one truth, namely, that we are a single Armenian statehood in the world. The state of Armenia must bear the moral responsibility for the life and safety of Armenians in any part of the Soviet Union and the world.

Our people should be convinced that their official organs—the party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers—are not only the leaders of the republic but first and foremost the spokesmen for the interests of the people. This is their historic duty.

#### **Chairman Vorontsov on Personal Background, Goskompriroda Role**

90US0044a Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY  
VESTNIK in Russian No 17, Aug 89 pp 4-5

[Report on interview with Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorontsov by an unidentified PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK correspondent; date and place not given]

[Text]

#### **From the Pages of a Biography:**

*Chairman of the USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection] Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorontsov was born in 1934. He is Russian. Graduated from the imeni M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University. His profession is biologist-zoologist. He is a doctor of biological sciences (1967) and professor (1972). He is not a party member. He was a graduate student and a junior research associate at the Leningrad Zoological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and an associate professor at the imeni N.I. Pirogov Second Moscow State Medical Institute. He worked as the learned secretary of the Presidium of the USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Siberian Division, and was a member of the presidium of the Far East Scientific Center of the USSR AN and the director of the Biological and Soil Institute of the USSR AN Far East Scientific Center. Beginning in 1977, he was a senior research associate, and since 1988, a main research associate of the imeni N.K. Koltsov Institute of Developmental Biology. He has participated in and led 41 scientific expeditions. He is a people's deputy of the USSR.*

[Correspondent] Nikolay Nikolayevich, when and for what reason did you, a research associate, first feel the need to become actively involved in political activities?

To your mind, which provisions of your pre-election program have ensured the mandate of a deputy for you?

[Vorontsov] Politics was never alien to me. Why? After all, science is inseparable from society, and the latter is inconceivable without politics. I am a representative of biology the history of which, unfortunately, has been running into politics all the time. Beginning in 1955, I happened to take an active part in fighting Lysenko and defending genetics. Participation in this struggle amounted to public and political activities because at the time Lysenko had the support of the leadership and because political accusations as well were leveled at genetics researchers. We had to defend our views. I considered it my duty to write appeals to the editorial offices of newspapers and to the government in this matter. I was one of the young scientists and proponents of N.V. Timofeyev-Resovskiy; this is why many episodes in the novel "Bison" by Daniil Granin are identifiable for me and conjure up real memories.

Over the past 13 years, I have conducted a considerable volume of scientific and social work: I have been a vice-president of a scientific society of the USSR AN. Then it turned out that our society was to nominate people's deputies as one of 28 societies. I never thought that I would be given the honor. Personally, I proposed to nominate as a candidate deputy the well-known ecologist A. Yablokov with whom we have worked in the same institute. Other candidates were also proposed. Quite unexpectedly, both Yablokov and I were given powerful support by our scientific society. I was absolutely unprepared for this. However, at this point I recalled—well, it might seem strange to refer to the call of the ancestors—anyway, I recalled that my father was a delegate to the 3d and 6th All-Russian Congresses of the Soviets, and a delegate to the 11th Congress of the party. Unlike me, a non-party member, he was a member of the party since May 1917, which I am very much proud of. This helped me resolve to take part in the pre-election struggle.

Which provisions in my deputy program have ensured the mandate of a deputy for me? The point is that I did not have a program because a program is a specific thing. It has to include promises. You know, they have promised so much in our country that if we sum it all up... In a word, I believed this not to be serious. Therefore, I quite deliberately called my pre-election document a platform. It was called "Variety and Stability." What was it about? In this platform, I said that both animate and social systems have much in common. To be sure, there are a great many differences, but there is much in common.

You would agree that people want to live in a stable society, in a socially and ecologically stable environment. We, the biologists, know full-well that a coenosis consisting of a maximum number of different species is the most stable, for example, a tropical forest which consists of tens of thousands of species. A tundra is the most unstable coenosis: There are few species there, and

hence its terrible vulnerability, it bruises easily. A meadow consisting of a multitude of species is stable. However, as soon as we start using a single crop we need to nourish it continuously with fertilizer and protect with insecticides. That is, the single crop lives in the environment of continuous spurting, a stress of sorts. It cannot exist otherwise, because it is the single crop.

Hence there are social analogies... For a long time, we lived in the environment of a single social crop. However, both the animate and natural systems may only exist when the principles of both direct links and feedback operate in them, that is, links not only from the top to the bottom, but also from the bottom to the top. Now we are restoring such feedback in our society. Both the elections themselves and the Congress of People's Deputies are a direct restoration of the principle of feedback. This chain has got to start working in our country.

I am entirely convinced that we need social variety, a variety of opinions, a variety of education, various types of schools. After all, our entire educational system is designed for decathlon athletes of sorts. A person does not realize himself profoundly in anything, does not display his abilities, but on the average he has straight A's whereas we need different talents and different character traits.

We also need to preserve the ethnic-cultural variety in our country. To my mind, this is very closely associated with the rational utilization of nature. After all, every ethnic culture has its own traditions which are ages old and its bond with the land. The loss of ethnic variety brings about the destruction of the bond between man and nature. After all, the tragedy which is now unfolding in West Siberia is not just associated with those who extract oil in a barbaric manner without taking natural conditions into account. On top of everything, there is a multitude of non-indigenous residents in Siberia who have no ties to the culture of utilizing nature. This mode of nature utilization exists not only among the Khant and Mansi, not only among the Nenets, but also among the indigenous Russian Siberians who have already lived at this location for 300 years.

We can dwell on this topic further still. The main point which I want to make is that a unified systemic approach may be applied to both nature and society. This is not a vulgar biological interpretation, but an expression of the inner unity of the world.

[Correspondent] The people hoped that the creation of the USSR Goskompriroda will improve the ecological situation in the cities and regions as soon as possible. However, no perceptible shifts have occurred. To your mind, what is the reason? What do you think needs to be done first of all in order for environmental protection work to bring results?

[Vorontsov] It is naive to think that within the 1.5 to 2 years since the creation of the USSR Goskompriroda which is not yet up to speed the environment could have been improved. Moreover, I would like to say bluntly

that a sharp improvement cannot be expected in the few years to come. A gradual process will move ahead.

Of course, ecological problems need to be solved rapidly; at the same time, this should not be done hastily. I believe that the process of creating Goskompriroda organs is far from complete. Of course, there are people in our local organs who are selflessly dedicated to the cause of environmental protection. Such people are found not only among specialist-ecologists, but also among economic functionaries and volunteers. However, we cannot ignore the fact that very few people who are professionally knowledgeable about the business of environmental protection have ended up in the field offices of the Goskompriroda. In many cases, these were purely bureaucratic decisions: When one meritorious person or another needed to be given a job he was appointed to one of our offices.

I believe that, when they offered me to head the Goskompriroda, the leadership of the USSR Council of Ministers knew that they would be getting a scientist rather than an experienced minister. This means that my priority task in the Goskompriroda is to rally around the State Committee (on the staff or outside it) the best scientific cadres of the country in order to work out a strategy of environmental protection. Our tactical tasks include the organization of our own cartographic service, developing maps of ecological situation in our country and in regions which every leader should have. This will require additional research and many years of work. However, we do not have time. Nature can no longer bear the violence inflicted on it.

[Correspondent] Which economic devices does the committee need in order to perform its functions successfully?

[Vorontsov] For the environmental protection work to bring perceptible results, we first of all need to work out a new economic concept of this endeavor. We will accomplish nothing until we create and set in motion a mechanism which will make it economically disadvantageous to damage nature. We should have effective economic arrangements. It should become disadvantageous to pollute the environment, and not only for the ministry, but also for a specific plant or employee. We should create a system under which a thrifty attitude toward resources will be rewarded and a non-thrifty attitude will be punished in monetary terms. Apparently, there has to be a progressive scale of taxes of some kind: On the one hand, on the excessive consumption of resources, on primitive technologies, and on the other hand, a system of financial rewards for saving resources, for the rapid construction of treatment facilities, for the knowledgeable, that is, ecologically balanced, utilization of nature.

[Correspondent] As you see it, what is the place and role of the Goskompriroda in managing the national economy of our country?

[Vorontsov] Our committee should become a consultant in the process of making decisions of some kind which entail ecological consequences. It should concentrate the functions of the state ecological review. Our tasks are very complex. Unlike other ministries and offices, we do not produce tons, do not sow on millions of hectares, and so on. After all, even the Ministry of Health has a plan of sorts, but we do not. On the one hand, our functions are executive because we are an organ of the Council of Ministers; however, on the other hand, we have control and management functions. As is known, according to the constitution, they fall within the jurisdiction of the Soviet of People's Deputies. This is why I think that the passing of a resolution by the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet on the subordination of the republic Goskompriroda to the Supreme Soviet was no accident. This issue is under discussion in other republics as well. I do not think that at present all of us have to go this very way. However, at the same time we should, perhaps, consider the issue of dual subordination by the Goskompriroda to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers.

[Correspondent] Informal ecological organizations have become a quite active force recently. What kind of a relationship are you going to have with them?

[Vorontsov] I cannot conceive of my work without my relations with them. However, I must say that very different forces are active in this field. Sincere nature enthusiasts account for an overwhelming majority. Even if we are going to disagree with them on something we cannot fail to take advantage of their enthusiasm. However, some actions of these informal groups are caused by what I would call regional egoism: Let this be in my neighbor's back yard, and not in mine... In this matter, we should be guided by scientific data rather than emotions; we should develop the notion of ecological capacity of a territory. We should prove on a strictly scientific basis how many enterprises a particular territory may bear without harming nature and the health of people.

[Correspondent] A deputy and a member of the government. You used to serve in one capacity, and now you do in the other. To your mind, how should the mutual relations of deputies and ministers develop?

[Vorontsov] Only on the basis of cooperation. We have people's deputies so remarkable that I would gladly enlist many of them for work on environmental protection. I would enlist them so that the cause would benefit. After all, these are the people who are not indifferent, who are interested, and whose permanent help and advice I need. On the other hand, I have to be prepared to be held accountable by my deputies for my work and for the work of the committee.

### Leningrad People's Deputy Sobchak Profiled

18120002 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 36,  
10 Sep 89 p 16

[Article by Gennady Zhavoronkov: "Champion of the People"]

[Text] Leningrad electors laud their candidate. When the stalemates arose at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, TV cameras always zoomed in on the same person. Everyone waited for his opinion. Then he rose up and broke the uneasy silence: Deputy Sobchak, 47th Leningrad Territorial Area...

### Thou Shalt Not Make Unto Thee Any Graven Image

Sobchak is recognized on TV, and in trains and on the street. He is one of the leaders discovered by the 1st Congress of People's Deputies. Some can no longer do without his assessments and advice, others are irked by his confidence and professionalism. Once, just before another statement by Sobchak, some deputies remarked rather loudly and caustically: "He has kept quiet for two days and misses the rostrum."

In the past, we were in too great a haste to create idols in order later to experience a long and tragic parting with them. But Sobchak is not looking for universal admiration. He is a people's deputy standing up for the interests of his electors, and thus infringing upon the interests of someone else. For instance, those who are not used to objections and appeals to the law.

He speaks about himself in an ironically serious way: "I am a deputy from two continents, two islands and two health resorts." This is no exaggeration. Situated on the territory of his area are the Institutes of the Arctic and Antarctic, the Vasilyevsky and Kotlin Islands, the Zelenogorsk and Sestroretsk health resorts.

Entering the battle of the hustings, Sobchak chose a motto which is perhaps clear to Leningraders alone: "Perestroika has made it possible for a rank-and-file professor-jurist to vie on equal terms with a filter-ship repairer of the Baltiisky Zavod for nomination to the Supreme soviet." But, of course, he struggled not against the worker, but against the clock. For 50 years running necessarily a filter and necessarily a Hero of Labor had been elected from that area. Such was the incontestable ruling from on high. The appointed-elected deputy never made any trouble at the brief, unexciting sessions of the Supreme Soviet. He fully relied upon the wisdom of the country's real leaders, who had a better view of everything from Moscow than from beyond the walls of the Baltiisky Zavod.

But this time the workers' candidate, Yuri Nikiforov, turned out to be not only a Hero of Labor, but also a hero of perestroika. He didn't want erstwhile obedience for himself or for his electors. The struggle proceeded on equal terms and was as dramatic as a detective story. Sobchak won.

He worked at the Congress as if trained at some European Parliament. Of course, he wasn't. It's just that he had been looking forward to such a congress for so many years, had believed that it would take place and had prepared for it. He had trained himself not to waive the truth even in petty matters and conflicts and draw a strict line between compromise and unscrupulousness. In 1980, the daughter of his university teacher, Professor Ioffe, married a foreigner. At that time this was seen as sacrilege. A scandal broke out at the university and the professor was expelled from the Party. Some kept a respectful distance from Ioffe so as not to be affected by the "splinters of the Thunderers' wrath". Some, but not Sobchak. He not only did not disavow his teacher, but openly expressed his disagreement with the majority opinion.

In the 1960s, when it was already clear to everyone that the proposed economic reform was not approved at the very top, when everyone was privately ordered to "keep quiet", his thesis for his Doctor's degree championed the "blasphemous" notion that it isn't the state that should maintain the enterprises but the enterprises that should maintain the state. The thesis was kept for six years by the Higher Certifying Commission. When it was finally rejected, Sobchak, after a short pause, presented a new one and brilliantly defended it.

This is evidently why he came to the Congress not just with good intentions, but with firm ideas on a number of questions concerning state-economic law.

Sobchak's most vivid impression from the Congress was its unpredictability. Every day brought new surprises and drama. To many electors it seemed that the Congress was bogging down in procedural matters and skirting the most important question: how to save the state? Sobchak even received a cable demanding that he renounce his post as deputy: "By your rejoinders and remarks you are saving the drowning bureaucracy reluctant to solve the key problems." But Sobchak didn't change his tack, believing that without squaring away these procedural trifles it would be impossible to build a new, law-based mechanism of authority. Not only TV viewers, but even many deputies failed to sense the tension when Yuri Chemodanov mysteriously disappeared from the RSFSR's list of candidates. To some this even seemed funny. Sobchak was the first to sound the alarm. The voting results should be considered null and void, otherwise the conflict would have to be settled behind closed doors, meaning in an unlawful way, as in the "good" old days. The situation was saved by Chemodanov himself, who agreed to withdraw his candidature. But what would have happened if he were not so kind? This shows the importance of procedural detail.

#### The view from aside—Professor Dmitry Chechet, LLD:

"For us, university lecturers, Anatoly Sobchak's nomination for people's deputy was not unexpected. He was once a student of mine and even then distinguished

himself with his vigour, dynamism, excellent fighting qualities and—the main thing—his ethical reliability.

"At the university's general meeting we examined all eight candidatures. Sobchak was perhaps the least known. After all, the list included the rector, a former prorector and the secretary of the Party committee. Ten minutes were allotted for questions, but Sobchak was not let go for a long time. Everyone was amazed by his action programme which included the wishes of almost all those present. The audience was charmed by his competence and erudition, by the global instead of petty claims he planned to put before some ministers.

"Sobchak polled 300 votes while the runner-up only got 80. The overwhelming majority of delegates at the university knew that Sobchak was the man to pick.

"And they were not mistaken. Here is one more, perhaps paradoxical confirmation of this: recently, while visiting some friends, I saw a seven-year-old playing... Sobchak. A kid, imitating the deputy, said strictly: 'I want all children to feel good, I want all grown-ups to have soap.'

#### It's Impossible To Meet While Standing Still

In the 1950s we, Moscow boys, were always looking forward eagerly for one election or another. Not because we expected them to change anything, but because after elections the schools were closed for disinfection and we received an extra day off. Top young to vote, we once decided to find out what kind of game was being played by adults who obediently streamed into the polling stations. Our improvised sociological poll produced amazing results: 100 per cent of those who had gone to the polls did not remember the name of their candidate. The conclusions baffled us, as did the fact that all of us were taken to the nearest militia station on charges of disturbing the peace.

The latest elections of people's deputies were a total departure. Sobchak decided not to wait till electors came to him. Instead he went to them and introduced himself. Went to improvised meetings, to gatherings of unofficials, to the little site near the Vasilyevskaya Metro station. The decision to go out into the street, honestly, was not so original. Many candidates realized that palaces of culture or housing administration offices were no longer the places to meet. The difference with Sobchak was that he understood that the public's trust in words and promises had shrunk to practically nothing. Now one had to act. Very soon this little known jurist from the university was the most popular advocate of the streets of Leningrad. Even his experienced colleagues were amazed by his ability to pinpoint the problem in wordy complaints and confusing conflicts, and to formulate a clear reply. He made people feel protected from the lawlessness, callousness and official routine. Sobchak did not divide electors into friend and foe. Anyone in need of help was a friend. Nor did he betray this principle after winning at the elections. During the Congress he was approached by one Sergei Savostitsky, the father of four, who had come to Moscow from far

away. His wife had been in the hospital for a long time, but they refused to pay the allowance due him for child support. The first thing Sobchak asked Sergei was when they had eaten last and where they were staying, and only having decided those everyday issues did he settle the conflict over child support.

No, this isn't a search for cheap popularity. Sobchak is well aware that he physically cannot help everyone, that it's not up to a deputy to the Supreme Soviet to meddle in local conflicts. His job is to create a system that rules out the rise of such situations. But so long as this system does not exist the responsibility for everything rests on his shoulders as well.

The view from aside—Vladimir Pyatnitsky, member of the Leningrad branch of the Memorial Society:

"Once I took part with Sobchak in the Fifth Wheel TV programme. On my way to the studio I noticed a man and a 7-year-old girl arguing about something like equals as they walked along. Sometimes the girl ran ahead and scrutinized her father's face as if to make he wasn't ridiculing her. But her father was absolutely serious. I thought: how very few children and parents there are today with such happy relationships between them. At the studio I realized that the couple had been Anatoly Sobchak and his daughter Xenia. It wasn't easy to separate them for the telecast, and immediately afterwards Xenia rushed to her father as if she had experienced a long and unbearable separation."

#### At Home

All happy families are nevertheless happy in their own way. It all depends on what is understood by happiness. Material prosperity, career, personal success? In the Sobchak family happiness is understood as identity of views and mutual assistance. At home the face of the angry deputy disappears. He is among his folks. His wife Lyudmila is a historian, and they have two daughters and a grandson. Their elder daughter Maria has followed in her father's footsteps and works as a legal adviser. Xenia is in primary school, but already looks for a legal foundation in everything. During the election campaign they excitedly followed Sobchak's successes, but now

they regret his victory. Xenia grumbles: "I already knew, papa, that you are the cleverest one of all, but now you are rarely at home."

Fame also spells responsibility and cautious attention. And not only for the deputy himself, but also for his family. During TV debates, Sobchak was "accused" of being too intellectual to understand the concerns and needs of the working class. Some time later Sobchak's apartment was visited by a neighborhood delegation with a letter confirming that Sobchak was not an intellectual: that he went shopping and stood in queues like everyone else and beat his carpets on Sundays.

After Sobchak's sharp debate with Nikolai Ryzhkov, the already tense atmosphere at home was heightened by phone calls, telegrams and letters. What will happen next? Won't he be dismissed, recalled or punished? It didn't occur to anyone that to raise objections to the prime minister was the norm in statesman-like relations.

From a lecture Sobchak later read to his family:

"We want to build a new political system where parliament will control the government. Nikolai Ivanovich (Ryzhkov) as a deputy had no right to make an inquiry of me as a deputy. On the other hand, I have every right to address an inquiry to him as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and receive the necessary information concerning the person he had recommended. Not of the type from the Procurator's Office to the effect that this person had not committed a criminal offence. Is this enough to become a member of the government? What is important in politics, as in science, is not the process, but the result. But the result is obvious: the recommended person did not become a Vice-Chairman."

Of course, he is quite different at home than in parliament. Jokingly, he says that he prefers his family to society if only because their legal relations are clear and operate without a hitch.

The telephone in the apartment is ringing off the hook. The table is covered with letters and telegrams. But among these papers there is a special one—a sheet from the elector who during the Congress demanded his recall: "Request you consider my first telegram invalid. Congratulations."

A mere eight words. But what words?!

**Lithuanian Poles' Letter to Gorbachev on Katyn Massacre**

26000710a Vilnius CZERWONY SZTANDAR in Polish  
7 Sep 89 p 3

[Open letter to Gorbachev read and approved at the commemorative rally of Poles from Lithuania on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, in Katyn (Smolensk Oblast, RSFSR)]

[Text]

**Open Letter to Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev**

Glasnost, a basic element of the policy you are pursuing, and at the same time a fundamental feature of present political activity is indispensable in every domain. In the life of one society it is a necessary premise for its normal functioning in accordance with the generally accepted principles of humanitarianism, while in relations among nations and societies it is an indispensable prerequisite for building them in accordance with the model accepted throughout the civilized world, on respecting the requirements of international law and the inviolable human and national rights and freedoms.

The policy of glasnost which you initiated is bearing fruit in the form of healthier social relations and a growing number of newly revealed historical facts, and it removes taboos and prohibitions against untouchable topics, persons, and problems.

However, a prohibition still continues to apply to one problem: the problem of the bestial massacre of Polish officers perpetrated during World War II. This prohibition is all the more strange and incomprehensible considering that, after all, the motives for the crime and its perpetrators have long been known to the world. No consideration of political or ideological nature appeals to justify the enormity of the injustice done to an entire people, the senselessly bestial massacre. What is more, the obdurate silence in face of an event incontrovertibly proved by authoritative historians and corroborated by witnesses brands with a stigma those who have a say on whether to confirm the truth and affects adversely the whole of the relations between the Russian and Polish nations. For disregard of an historical truth is tantamount to its deliberate falsification.

The existence of the "white" or rather "red" Katyn spot on the canvas of the history of the last war also does not affect positively the coexistence of peoples in the Soviet

Union: many of those murdered in Katyn had their homes in Vilnius and its environs, as well as in the Grodno and Lvov regions. Many families did not witness the return of fathers, brothers, sons.

But it is not only the Katyn Massacre itself that requires an objective assessment and the punishment of the culprits. That was just one page in the annals of the persecutions, repressions, exilings, and killings committed on Poles in the Soviet Union over several decades. In the 1920s and 1930s the Soviet authorities adopted a number of official resolutions which represented the legal basis for persecutions and repressions applied with special cruelty. No one yet has annulled these resolutions or initiated the political rehabilitation of the Poles currently domiciled on the territory of the Soviet Union.

In connection with the above, we consider it necessary to advise you of the need to take urgent steps to resolve the following problems concerning the past half-century:

1. Publicization and objective assessment of the reasons for and perpetrators of the Katyn Massacre.
2. A court trial of the murderers—both the immediate executors and those who inspired them and gave them orders.
3. Redress of the moral and material injustices suffered by the families of the murdered officers, which were subjected to repressions and deportations, irrespective of their present domicile.
4. A worthy commemoration of all sites of the mass murders and exiles of Poles, with inscriptions and dates consonant with the truth.
5. Publicization of the heretofore secret resolutions defining Poles in the USSR as "enemies of the people" and placing them outside the law.
6. Official rehabilitation of Poles in the Soviet Union, emulating the rehabilitation of the Germans in 1964.
7. Successive publication of the results of the joint work of the Commission of Historians for Investigating Soviet-Polish relations.

At the same time we also appeal for devoting due attention to the problems of the Poles currently domiciled in the Soviet Union, providing them with the conditions for a dignified human and national existence in a form and content which they themselves consider suitable.

**Arabic Script Self-Taught Text Published in Uzbekistan**

*18350027a Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI  
in Turkmen 21 Jul 89 p 2*

[TASS report: "Textbook for the Arabic Script"]

[Text] Uzbek SSR—Khabibullo Soliyev, a worker at the Religious Administration for Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, thinks that it is possible to learn the Arabic script in 12 hours.

Seventy people have already successfully completed the short course organized by the Uzbekistan republic affiliate of the Soviet Culture Fund for teaching according to his methodology. Among them there are people of all ages and walks of life: writers, scholars, workers and shepherds.

"The basic thing is to learn the Arabic script," said Khabibullo. "This will make it possible for Uzbeks to not only read the works of Navoi and Nasimi but also to master the great cultural heritage of other peoples of the Near and Middle East."

The textbook "Arabic Script Self Taught" which was written by Kh. Soliyev in Uzbek will be on sale soon, and an edition in Kazakh is now in preparation. The self-study text will be published by the Fan publishing house in an edition of 500 thousand copies.

This is Khabibullo's first book. A theologian by training, after graduating from the Miri-Arap madrasa in Bukhara and the Al-Bukhari Islamic Institute in Tashkent, he studied at the Jordanian University in Amman.

**Awareness of Banned Turkmen Literature Discussed**

*18350027d Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY  
in Turkmen 7 Jul 89 p 4*

[Letter to the editor by Kayum Jumayev, director of the Soviet Sector of Turkmen Literature at the Magtymguly Institute of Language and Literature of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences: "On the 'Forbidden Collection'"]

[Text] We read the article "The Forbidden Collection" by J. Berdiyeva and T. Nepesov in the 1 February issue of your newspaper and learned from it how the first poems of B. Kerbabayev, a classic in Turkmen Soviet literature were prepared as a collection, how they were not published, but banned and thrown in an archive. The revealing of negative facts like this are very useful, even if it is only done now. For various reasons, a number of works were banned and never published: of these, one can mention works like "From The Bloody Hand," "Korkut Ata," "Khorezm" and "Perman." Even if such works were published, it was impossible to express an opinion about them in the press. From this point of view, the two authors have done useful work. Yet there is another aspect of their work: at the beginning of the

article the authors unjustifiably find fault in the study of Turkmen literature and in the work of certain literary scholars.

Claiming that "serious works and monographs on B. Kerbabayev do not say when he began to write poetry," they cite works like R. Rejebov's "Turkmen Soviet Literature In The 1920s" and B. Shamyradov's "Turkmen Literature Of The 1920s." They also mention as an example the work of A. Kekilov, R. Rejebov, K. Jumayev and others called "The Creation And Development Of Critical Thought In Turkmenistan" and say that in this work "the first poetic experiments" are never mentioned. If you pay careful attention, in this work devoted to the development of critical thought, there are no grounds to find fault with the authors with regard to Berdi Kerbabayev's poetry in a "forbidden collection" which was never published and unknown to the readers. In our opinion, the authors of the article must have come across this forbidden collection among the archive materials by chance because we have written many major works and defended dissertations on the work of B. Kerbabayev. Had the authors searched for an answer to this question from among these works, they would not have made such a mistake.

Then the authors, claiming that "serious works do not say when B. Kerbabayev began to write poetry, either lack knowledge on the question or have not dug deeply enough because twenty years ago B. Kerbabayev himself in an autobiographical essay mentioned when he began to write poetry. He says: "I wrote my first poem as satire in 1923." (B. Kerbabayev. "Collected Works", volume 6, 1960, p. 585). This poem, called "Drink Once More, Drink Again..." was published in the newspaper TURKMENISTAN in the issues of 8 and 11 January 1924. Although B. Kerbabayev considered this poem to be his first work, his first printed poem, "In The Time Of Tyranny," was published in the 4 January 1924 issue of this newspaper. These materials are also cited on page 114 of the fourth volume of the "History Of Turkmen Literature." In this work there is also much discussion pertaining to B. Kerbabayev's training prior to his entering into creative work. In volume six of the book the names of B. Kerbabayev's early poetry are given in the chronology. It is impossible for anyone interested in the works of B. Kerbabayev or toying with the study of literature not to know this.

The statement of the authors that B. Kerbabayev began to become acquainted with the literary heritage and made his first literary efforts at the madrasa of Chary Akhun is also not unknown to the reader. Actually, this process began even earlier, when B. Kerbabayev was studying at medreses in Kaka and Tejen. There is discussion of this in his autobiographical essay and in the history of our literature. However, his consequential creative work began with his invitation to work at TURKMENISTAN newspaper in 1924. When evaluating the writer's first works, those of the 1920s, there are data on excesses which appeared in the writer's early period in literary studies.

Another note. When the authors of the article discuss the works in the forbidden collection, they write: "Since some of the poems were in the author's archive, they were not included in the six-volume collection: this is a mistake of the compilers of these volumes and the editors." The authors of the article have not taken into consideration that only a selected portion of the writer's works were included in the six-volume work.

### Long Forbidden Turkmen Novel Discussed

18350027c Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY  
in Turkmen 23 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by A. Nurmammedov: "Discussion of the Novel 'Perman'"]

[Text] The discussion of the disappearance of the novel "Perman" by the well-known author Ata Govshudov has continued among literary historians and readers for many years. Through the efforts of the journal SOVET ADEBIYATY the novel was submitted to the readers in its fifth issue. Discussions of the novel's artistic worth and its strange fate have begun to rage once again in the literary community and among the readers. Various literary polemics and questions have come to the surface. As a consequence, the journal SOVET ADEBIYATY found it worthwhile to meet with its readers and hold a special readers' conference on the novel.

The journal, together with the literary and drama editors of Turkmen television, met with readers at the "40th Anniversary of the Turkmen SSR kolkhoz in Ashkhabad Rayon, the birthplace of the writer Ata Govshudov. The readers' conference devoted to the novel was held on the fields of the 9th vegetable-growing brigade which is led by Chary Kakajykov, a USSR People's Deputy and Socialist Hero of Labor. Brigade workers, fellow villagers of the writer and readers from all walks of life participated in the conference along with writers and poets.

Gurbandurdy Rzagulyyev, deputy chairman of the kolkhoz administration, opened the meeting, expressed his view of "Perman" and said that it imparted a Turkmen spirit and values to the readers. Then, in order to talk more broadly about the novel and to introduce the writers and poets who were taking part in the conference, he turned over the podium to the poet Bayram Jutdiyev, chief editor of SOVET ADEBIYATY. He introduced the writer and poets participating in the conference to the readers and, in discussing the publication of "Perman," gave due credit to

the writer Nargylych Khojageldiyev, the journal's deputy editor who very competently prepared the novel for publication.

In truth, why did the novel experience such a strange fate? Why was it inaccessible to the reader until now? What kind of reputation did the novel bring to Turkmen Soviet literature? Readers put these and similar questions to the comrades who had published the novel and the writers and poets at the conference.

First, one must note that the novel has been unavailable to readers for close to forty years. One of the basic reasons is probably because the work discusses events connected with the battle of Gokdepe there were those who spread the incorrect idea 'there is no need to publish it, it is a nationalistic work.' They stressed especially that the times contributed to the fate of the novel. Even had there been no one particularly interested in the novel at that time, it is still self-evident that the novel would not have been available to the reader for many years.

Despite the publication of "Perman" in the fifth issue of the journal, the novel is still not complete. It was noted that some chapters from the writer's manuscript were lost, and stressed that studies are continuing and that there are grounds to believe that the journal's version of the novel is one of the most impressive works of our literature.

What is the basic wealth of the novel? At the meeting the writers Kakaly Berdiyev, Durdymukhammet Nuralyyev and a number of readers expressed their opinions on this question at the meeting. It was especially noted that the novel's Turkmen spirit and artistic value are related to the deep roots of the people's creativity, that every word and image is brought to life with great subtlety, that its handling of the battle of Gokdepe and Turkmen-Russian relations is masterful and that it is artistically able to depict a major historical event truthfully.

The talks at the meeting by A. Govshudov's wife Bossan Eje and his childhood friend Sary Agha were also effective.

Later, readers put questions to SOVET ADEBIATY's chief editor, his deputy and other editors about the work of the journal. They emphasized that in a time of perestroika the journal was looking for gifted authors, publishing mature articles and criticism by young writers, printing some valuable works from the literary heritage as well as paying attention to important questions of the time and of the literary process.

The poets Sona Yazova, Govshut Shamyyev and Turkmenistan Lenin Komsomol Prize laureate Gozel Shagulyyeva read new poetry.

### Academics View Evolution of Soviet Law, Current Reforms

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Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Prof Ye. Skripilev, doctor of legal sciences; Doctor of Legal Sciences V. Maslov, and Candidate of Legal Sciences N. Chistyakov, all staff members of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, conducted and written up by G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernyak: "To Return to the Supremacy of Law"]

[Text] The discussion "Power and the Law" (7 October 1988) evoked a flood of readers' letters to the editors and to the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of State and Law. They touch on many problems pertaining to the history of the Soviet state, especially to the deformations in relations between power and the law that took place in the late 1920s, the 1930s and subsequent years, including the period of stagnation, and that have not been eliminated to this day. These questions served as the basis for the preparation of another discussion. Taking part in it are Prof Ye. Skripilev, doctor of legal sciences; Doctor of Legal Sciences V. Maslov; and Candidate of Legal Sciences N. Chistyakov. All are staff members of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of State and Law.

#### Both Reflections and Pain

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] We are looking at piles of readers' letters. Before getting together for the round table, you studied them. What are they about, these letters? Who, what strata of our society, were interested in the problems of "power and the law"? What general impression to the readers' letters produce?

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] As we expected, Lenin's ideas on the relationship between power and law in the Soviet socialist state interested many *PRAVDA* readers. After all, our party's policy of restructuring is in essence a policy of restoring the Leninist model of socialism, a model in which, according to V. I. Lenin's idea, the unconditional subordination of power (economic-management, administrative, police [militsey-skaya] and judicial power) to the law, and the law alone, should be organically inherent. Today we are all trying to understand our country's past, in which the heroic coexisted with tyranny and lawlessness, to draw lessons from the past, and to prevent either the supporters of the command-directive system (and there are still very, very many of them), or extremist elements, or those who are eager to jump the gun from thwarting restructuring.

What do readers write about? Their letters are reflections on our Soviet homeland's past and its future. The letters express both pain over our history's tragic pages, which caused the Soviet people immense suffering, and equally, pain for our present, in which (many write about this) power is still not always subordinate to the law and has not learned to respect it and be its faithful servant.

The broad social makeup of the writers is gratifying. They include many workers. There are letters from

peasants and representatives of the intelligentsia. Scholars, too, responded to the newspaper piece.

The letters are distinguished by openness, sincerity, the fearless raising of penetrating questions, polemical ardor, and a breadth of opinions. This provides grounds for considering the views and opinions expressed in them as a kind of mirror reflecting the level of the political and legal sophistication of the letter writers and, consequently, of Soviet society as a whole. That level is rather high.

#### A Task for an Era

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] In evaluating the present situation in the country, a group of readers (V. Olkhovikov from Moscow, V. Kuroyedov from Vilnius, K. Kazymbekov from Baku and many others) believe that the apparatus is the chief obstacle to restructuring. And they ask when, in which years, did the apparatus acquire such force that it, to all intents and purposes, rose above the law and took power from the soviets? This really is a "blank spot."

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] And, let us add, even today historians are for some reason bypassing that spot with their attention. Yet knowledge of the pages of history hidden behind that "blank spot" will help us more deeply understand the Stalin phenomenon and the sources of the mechanism of mass repressions, and will more fully illuminate important present-day problems in the area of the development of the state and law. We are referring to V. I. Lenin's assessment of the Soviet state apparatus as it existed as of the end of 1922, and to the leader's proposals for restructuring it in order to make it truly Soviet and socialist.

In order to answer the questions that arise here, let us first turn to Vol 45 of V. I. Lenin's "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniya" [Complete Works], in which Vladimir Ilyich's last letters and articles are published (from 23 December 1922 through 2 March 1923). N. I. Bukharin called this legacy of the leader his political testament. Lenin examines many problems in these works. In this case we shall discuss only two, which the author raised together and called the party's chief tasks.

The first is the restructuring of the state apparatus. Generalizing our party's five years' experience in the area of developing the state and law, Lenin wrote with alarm that our state apparatus "is worthless," that it had been "borrowed by us from tsarism and just slightly touched up by the Soviet world," and that "here in five years of struggle we have not succeeded at anything, and could not have." In this connection, Lenin raised the task of refashioning the state apparatus as one of the party's chief and most urgent tasks."

Along with that task, Lenin raised another—cultural work with the peasantry aimed ultimately at creating the conditions for organizing them completely into cooperatives. These two tasks, as the chief, principal tasks, Lenin wrote, will constitute an era.

But the era devoted to accomplishing these main tasks of the Soviet regime after it had defended the Soviet republic's independence never arrived. V. I. Lenin passed away and a different era began—an era of departure from the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the deformation of the Leninist model of socialism.

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] Obviously, the state apparatus that Lenin believed required restructuring contained mechanisms whose preservation J. V. Stalin required, didn't it?

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] In 1895 V. I. Lenin wrote that Russia maintained the sort of state system wherein the omnipotence of the bureaucrats had established itself. They were unaccountable and constituted a special caste that had been placed above citizens. Developing this idea, Lenin noted: "The unaccountability and tyranny of the bureaucrats and the utter voicelessness of the population itself give rise to the sort of flagrant abuses of the bureaucrats' power and the sort of violation of the rights of the ordinary people that are hardly possible in any European country." Two years later, in 1897, Lenin spoke of the people's total lack of rights vis-a-vis government officials and the privileged bureaucracy's total lack of supervision in Russia.

For many years, deceiving ourselves and others, we asserted that nothing of the sort existed or could exist under the conditions of the Soviet system. In actuality, however, under the Soviet regime our people had to endure the monstrous crimes of the repressive agencies, the omnipotence of the bureaucrats, and a great deal else that was alien and inimical to the Leninist model of socialism. And even now, in the fifth year of restructuring, we have not yet eliminated either the omnipotence of officials and bureaucrats, or abuses of power, or other negative phenomena in the work of the state apparatus. And all this has become a grievous reality of our history and our present day chiefly because Stalin and his entourage ignored the task that Lenin had set of building a Soviet state apparatus and purging it entirely of everything alien that had been introduced into it in the Soviet regime's first years.

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] One can understand Stalin's position: he needed both a trained bureaucracy that was obedient only to him and a powerful repressive apparatus. But why didn't such prominent figures in our party as N. I. Bukharin, M. I. Kalinin, A. I. Rykov, D. I. Kurskiy, N. V. Krylenko and P. I. Stuchka show proper attention to Lenin's legacy in the area of the development of the state and law, and a willingness to be consistent defenders of that legacy? After all, together with Lenin they did a great deal to build the Soviet state and to creatively interpret the experience that had been gained. Here, as people say, God himself commanded them to respond properly to V. I. Lenin's appeal to refashion the state apparatus and direct its development along the path of democratization, legality and justice.

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] The point is precisely that they, like Stalin, ignored Lenin's instructions to regard the task of refashioning the state apparatus as the chief task whose accomplishment would constitute the era. Historians have yet to establish the motives for the stand they took. The only thing that is clear is that it turned out tragic both for the party and for socialism.

History has worked out such that only now, in the Soviet regime's eighth decade, have the conditions been created for drawing lessons from the experience that has been accumulated in the development of the state and law. One such lesson is the party's decision to build a state that, as V. I. Lenin dreamed, will become genuinely soviet and socialist. We are referring to the establishment of a socialist law-governed state. The accomplishment of that task will truly constitute an era.

#### The Deformation of Legal Justice

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] From the letters the editors have received it is apparent that many readers are dissatisfied with the work of the courts, procuracy and militia, and that they expect a radical restructuring of those agencies' work. In this connection, we would like to talk about what place V. I. Lenin assigned to legal justice, how he saw the relationship between power and the law, and what was done during V. I. Lenin's lifetime to improve the work of the justice agencies.

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] We partially looked at some of those questions during our first discussion. As has already been said, Lenin defended the supremacy of the law over power. Therefore, he was not satisfied with the legal justice agencies as they had come to be five years after the victory of Great October, or with the state of legality and the legal justice system in the country. In his famous 20 May 1922 letter "On 'Dual' Subordination and Legality," written to Stalin for the Politburo, he noted with his characteristic bluntness: "...There is no doubt but what we live in a world of illegality and that local influence is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, adversary of the establishment of legality and civility."

This letter was written several months before, on 23 December 1922, V. I. Lenin, already sick, started to dictate his last letters and articles, which we have already discussed. In reading them, one can readily conclude that these works of his were suffused with one concern: how to improve the state apparatus and refashion it in order to make it genuinely soviet and socialist. One can readily conclude that Lenin thought to begin the restructuring of the state apparatus by restructuring the legal justice agencies and enhancing their authority and prestige. However, even during Lenin's lifetime there were forces among his associates that did not care for the Soviet regime to have an effectively functioning legal justice system. In his letter, Lenin resolutely opposed the "dual" subordination of procurators at the local level and defended the need, in the first place, for them to be subordinate only to the center, bypassing the gubernia ispolkoms, and in the second place, for them to be

appointed, reassigned and dismissed only by the authority of the republic procurator.

That letter also contained another important proposition pertaining to the powers of the procurator and the court in exercising oversight over the legality of the decisions of local authorities. Vladimir Ilyich wrote: "The procurator has the right to and is required to do one thing only: see to the establishment of a genuinely uniform understanding of legality throughout the entire republic, despite any local differences and in spite of any local influence whatsoever....The procurator's sole right and duty are to turn cases over for the decision of the court." This proposal of V. I. Lenin's was of exceptional importance. Its adoption was creating serious obstacles to the bureaucratization of the state apparatus, enhancing procurator's oversight thanks to the consideration of procurators' protests to the court, and raising the prestige of the legal justice system.

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] Obviously, this proposal of V. I. Lenin's is relevant even today. After all, present legislation provides no judicial procedures for the consideration of protests against illegal decisions of officials and local authorities. If we had such procedures, one could say with confidence that we would not have had any Rashidovism, Medunovism, or other such outrages.

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] You are probably right. But let us return to events of 1922. Lenin's letter was considered at a Politburo meeting. Not all the participants in that meeting supported Lenin's proposals, but the majority voted for them. The Politburo adopted a decree that stated: "To reject 'dual' subordination and establish the subordination of the local procuracy authority solely to the center in the person of the procurator general; local procuracy authorities are appointed by the procurator general under the supervision of the Supreme Tribunal, the People's Commissariat of Justice and the Central Committee Organizational Bureau. To preserve the procuracy authority's right and duty to protest all and any decisions of local authorities from the standpoint of the legality of those decisions or decrees without the right to suspend them, and with the exclusive right to turn cases over to be decided by the court."

However, two days later the Politburo reconsidered its decree and eliminated the words "with the exclusive right to turn cases over to be decided by the court" from it, that is, it did not agree with having procurators' protests be considered by the courts. On 8 July a session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee confirmed a "Statute on Procurator's Oversight," and on 1 August 1922 it took effect. It contained no judicial procedures for the consideration of procurators' protests.

So while V. I. Lenin was still alive, but contrary to his opinion, the attempt to establish effective oversight over the observance of legality in the country was not fully carried through. Historians have yet to establish who

specifically opposed the implementation of Lenin's idea. One thing is clear: it was not only the local bureaucracy, against whom Lenin's proposal was directed, that saw a danger to itself in Lenin's proposed judicial consideration of procurators' protests, but also the central bureaucracy, to whose pressure the Politburo yielded. According to Lenin, in order that all the Soviet regime's laws be carried out, it had to have a strong central procuracy authority consisting of a relatively small collegium of reliable communists who also had adequate legal training, and of strong courts at the local level. But this idea of Lenin's was not realized. The Soviet regime received a legal justice system that during the period of Stalin's personality cult and in the stagnation period was wholly at the service of the central and local bureaucracy. We have not completely rid ourselves of that legacy to this day.

#### Vyshinskiy and Others

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] Today it is customary to link arbitrariness in the administration of justice primarily with the name of Vyshinskiy. Readers, too, ask about him in their letters to the editors. What can you say about this person?

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] As early as the mid-1920s Vyshinskiy made himself known as an educated jurist. In 1925 he published a book titled "Sud i karatelnaya politika sovetskoy vlasti" [The Court and the Soviet Regime's Policy With Regard to Punishment], and in 1927 he published yet another one, "Kurs ugovolovnogo protsessa" [The Course of a Criminal Trial]. These works attested to the author's broad erudition and to his knowledge of the history of the court and the theory of judicial evidence. But later it became obvious that Vyshinskiy was unreliable both as a communist and simply as a human being, and had proved to be mendacious, treacherous and cruel.

Vyshinskiy had been a Menshevik. After the February Revolution of 1917, he was chairman of the Yakimanskiy Rayon Authority in Petrograd. In that office, Vyshinskiy signed orders for the strict execution on the territory entrusted to him of the Provisional Government's order that V. I. Lenin be sought out, arrested and turned over to the court as a German spy. In 1920 Vyshinskiy became a member of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). In 1925-1928 he was rector of Moscow State University. In 1928-1931 he was a member of the collegium of the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Education. Starting in 1931, he served on agencies of the procuracy, and in 1935 through 1939 he was USSR Procurator General.

Once he took charge of the central procuracy authority, instead of directing the procuracy agencies' efforts, as the law required that he do, to ensuring uniform legality in the center and at the local level, Vyshinskiy, to all intents and purposes, led an escalation of violence, tyranny and lawlessness. Whereas Vyshinskiy, citing the prominent Russian legal scholar Vladimirov and agreeing with him,

had previously written that the unsubstantiated accusation [ogovor] was a murky source of evidence and had warned against its use, now denunciations and unsubstantiated accusations, with his encouragement, assumed a firm place in the procuracy's investigative practice and in judicial practice, and became widespread as a form of reliable evidence that did not require careful verification. In the mid-1920s, referring to the medieval criminal trial, Vyshinskiy had written concerning a defendant's confession: "It was considered the 'queen of evidence,' but the best means of obtaining it was deemed to be torture, no matter whether physical or mental." But now, having become USSR procurator, he sanctioned the use of torture, and in his theoretical works he started to assert that the defendant's confession was the 'queen of evidence.'

That was what Vyshinskiy was like as a theoretician and a practitioner. He gained popularity in the mid-1920s as the state prosecutor in the fabricated political trials of prominent figures of the party and Soviet state, professional revolutionaries and comrades-in-arms of V. I. Lenin. He was the director of those trials. His speeches in those trials abounded in abuse and insults of the defendants. Vyshinskiy's efforts in the trials of Kamenev, Zinov'yev, Pyatakov, Radek, Bukharin and others were "duly" appreciated by Stalin. In 1939 he became an academician and member of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and subsequently he became deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and USSR minister of foreign affairs.

Here is what the documents say about Vyshinskiy's activities in the office of USSR procurator. In 1937 Yezhov issued a directive on the carrying out of mass arrests. Instead of protesting that monstrous directive, Vyshinskiy sent an encoded cable to the procurators of the union republics, krays, oblasts, autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts, military districts, and railroads. It stated: "Familiarize yourselves in the NKVD with Yezhov's 30 July 1937 operational order, number 00447. In accordance with Section 5, Point 2, I order the procurators to attend meetings of troykas where procurators are not troyka members. Observance of procedural norms and preliminary sanctions for arrests are not required....Cases concerning contingents indicated in Section 1 that have not yet been heard by a court are to be turned over to the troykas....I demand active assistance in the successful conduct of the operation. I personally entrust you with maintaining secrecy in the procuracies' apparatus concerning the operation being conducted."

In March 1937 Vyshinskiy prepared and signed together, with Yezhov, a letter addressed to Stalin containing a proposal that visiting sessions of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court be held to try cases with regard to wrecking, sabotage, espionage and terrorist groups in Zapadno-Sibirskiy and Krasnoyarsk krays, Sverdlovsk, Omsk, Gorkiy, Kuibyshev, Saratov and Stalingrad oblasts, and the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSRs.

The letter proposed that cases be heard within a month and a half and that, according to a list, 250 persons be sentenced to the supreme punishment, 185 persons be sentenced to 10 years in prison, and 60 persons be sentenced to eight years. Vyshinskiy and Yezhov asked Stalin to approve their proposals.

The Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, directed by V. V. Ulrikh, strictly carried out the orders of Stalin, Yezhov and Vyshinskiy, and covered up arbitrary and unlawful actions with its sentences, destroying thousands of totally innocent people. Here is what Ulrikh states in one of his reports, dated 15 October 1938:

"To Comrade L. P. Beria, commissar of state security, first rank.

"During the period from 1 October 1936 through 30 September 1938 the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court and visiting sessions of the collegium in 60 cities condemned:

—30,514 persons to execution;  
—5,643 persons to imprisonment;  
—36,157 in all."

Any attempts by procurators to protest against violations of law in the state security agencies were relentlessly suppressed. Many of them found themselves in the camp of "enemies of the people" and paid with their lives or long terms of incarceration.

Vyshinskiy's activities in the office of USSR Procurator had a ruinous effect not only on practice but on the development of Soviet legal science, in which a kind of cult of Vyshinskiy developed. No one could openly oppose that cult, just as no one could oppose the cult of Stalin.

In 1941 Vyshinskiy's book "Teoriya sudebnykh dokazatel'stv v sovetskem prave" [The Theory of Evidence in Soviet Law]. The second edition appeared in 1946, and the third in 1950. The book was awarded a first-degree Stalin Prize and proclaimed a "...valuable contribution to the Marxist science of law, as a work that serves as a model of the application of the Marxist dialectical method to the study of law." Yet it is precisely this book that contains a mass of things that are not simply erroneous but that deliberately distort extremely important provisions of criminal and criminal-procedural law.

Many years have passed, but Vyshinskiy's conception has not yet been fully rejected, and fragments of it even exist in textbooks that today's students use to study law. It is no wonder that we have the most flagrant violations of legality in investigative and judicial practice, violations which are expressed in the bias in favor of the prosecution, and in the illegal bringing of criminal charges against and conviction of innocent people.

### A Longing for Repressive Measures?

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] At the beginning of our discussion a lot that was good was said about readers' letters. We would also like to know, however, about that in the letters which gives rise to concern and alarm.

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] What causes the greatest concern and alarm is the conviction on the part of a substantial number of readers that the only way to establish the supremacy of law and ensure strict order in the country is through repressive measures and the intensification of punitive sanctions. One-fifth of those who responded to the discussion on power and the law favors such measures.

Appeals to strengthen repressions have already been heard in the history of our state. They started to be heard in the Soviet regime's first years. The situation of the Civil War and foreign intervention substantially expanded the social base for such appeals. It took V. I. Lenin and those who shared his views a great deal of effort to restrain the use of repressive measures and keep them within the limits of legality. Not everyone in the party leadership agreed with the course of further strengthening legality and providing the utmost protection for citizens' rights. But Vladimir Ilyich was firm and invariably demanded that the Soviet regime's laws be observed by everyone.

Once Lenin was gone, appeals to tighten up repressive measures intensified. It was not only in the uppermost levels of the party leadership and state authority that such appeals started to increase. It is not very hard to find the reason for that. At the end of the 1920s a difficult situation had developed during the time of grain-procurement campaigns. Stalin proposed resorting to extreme measures. As we know, such measures were taken and carried out extremely strictly everywhere. And then came the institution of capital punishment for the theft of state and public property. We are referring to the 7 August 1932 law. The pretext was also respectable: to enhance the protection of socialist property. The assassination of S. M. Kirov was another pretext for expanding the use of repressive measures and revoking guarantees of the right of the accused in criminal judicial proceedings. Let us also note that these measures were received by the bulk of the population as aimed at the good of society as a whole. We now know what all this led to—to the mass reprisals that became a tragic reality in the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s.

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] As we know, it is not just the history of the Soviet state that warns us against relying on the intensification of repressive measures in combating crime. The history of many states attests to the ineffectiveness of cruel punitive measures.

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] Cruelty of punishment has never been a lifesaver against crime and criminals. K. Marx called attention to that. "Both history and reason," he wrote, "equally confirm the fact

that cruelty that draws no distinctions makes punishment ineffective, since it destroys punishment as the result of law." Also characteristic is the fact that long before Great October V. I. Lenin was noting that "the preventive significance of punishment depends not at all on its cruelty but on its inevitability. What is important is not that harsh punishment be specified for a crime, but that in no case does a crime go undetected."

Those who demand a toughening of punishment are ignoring the historical experience accumulated by humanity in combating crime both in the remote past and in the years of the Soviet regime. That experience is an extremely valuable acquisition of universal human and legal culture. Ignoring it during the period of Stalin's personality cult cost our people dearly and is still making itself felt to this day, for it sowed cruelty in society, coarsened our mores, and resulted in many people's loss of a sense of mercy and of the ability to be sensitive and attentive to other people.

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] Today there are many arguments about the use of capital punishment. Readers ask what V. I. Lenin's views on this means of punishment were.

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] During Lenin's lifetime the question of the permissibility of the death penalty was discussed repeatedly. And legislative acts, which of course reflected Lenin's viewpoint, were adopted, too. One of the first historic decrees of October was the 26 October (8 November) 1917 decree of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies "On the Revocation of Capital Punishment." Soon, however, the Soviet regime had to revise the decision that the Congress had taken. This occurred in connection with the fact that the counterrevolution had taken the open offensive against the Republic of Soviets and had started to make broad use of white terror. Volodarskiy and Uritskiy had been killed, and an attempt had been made on the life of V. I. Lenin. It was then, in that concrete situation, that the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars adopted the 5 September 1918 decree "On Red Terror." According to that decree, "all persons associated with White Guardist organizations, conspiracies and uprisings" were subject to be shot.

We have statements by V. I. Lenin on capital punishment. In February 1920 he said that for us the question of the use of the death penalty was determined by expediency. "Of course," Lenin noted, "the Soviet regime will not maintain capital punishment longer than dictated by necessity."

It seems that these words of Lenin are relevant today. It was precisely necessity, for example, that dictated the USSR Supreme Soviet's recent decree "On the Resolute Strengthening of the Struggle Against Crime." People expected it and approved it. But it seems that even in this righteous struggle against crime we must not forget

Lenin's precepts not to swing from one extreme to the other, and not to commit violations of law.

#### To Live by the Law

[Ovcharenko and Chernyak] It is characteristic that even those readers who insist on toughening the law actively support the establishment of a law-governed state. But how compatible are those positions, if you look at them from the standpoint of Lenin's concept of the supremacy of law?

[Skripilev, Maslov and Chistyakov] The idea of a socialist law-governed state is increasingly winning over the masses. They rightfully see that the path to its realization lies through a return to the Leninist theoretical legacy in the area of developing the state and law and of ensuring legality at all levels of Soviet society's life. As historical experience shows, it will not be easy to take this path.

Incidentally, we also find this idea in some letters responding to the publication of the discussion on power and the law. "Since we are building a law-governed state," writes reader S. Peregudov from Rostov-on-Don, "we must not allow haste in the promulgation of laws, but must provide for the thorough scientific preparation of every draft law." In the opinion of reader P. Varfalomeyev from Tula, "when the majority of the people does not know its rights and duties, you cannot build a law-governed state."

These two letters, we believe, correctly capture the very essence of the socialist law-governed state, that is: the existence of scientifically substantiated legislation that expresses the aspirations of the people and of a high level of legal and, consequently, general knowledgeability on the part of the population. One must admit, however, that so far we have neither, and the prospects for changing the existing situation here for the better are far from optimistic. Legislating hurriedly and thoughtlessly is one of the living traditions of the past.

V. I. Lenin wrote that no country in the world had as many laws and regulations as Russia, but that in no country in the world were they so easily violated. When the Soviet regime was established, V. I. Lenin tried to warn the party against getting carried away with the hasty promulgation of decrees, without sufficient scientific substantiation. But those attempts of his did not always attain their goal. And once V. I. Lenin was gone, the situation in this regard deteriorated sharply. As P. I. Stuchka noted in 1929, "the floods of new laws, the waves of old ones, and the bundles of individual articles added to the codes are threatening to overwhelm us." Using Voltaire's well-known saying to the effect that it was necessary to "burn the old laws," P. I. Stuchka said: "We have Red Speranskiy writing laws; when will we get Red Voltaires who will burn them! I am not opposed to law and legislation in general, but one must have a sense of measure. And first and foremost, one must distinguish the laws that are law proper from purely

technical, departmental statutes and orders." It is appropriate to recall these words today, when the floods of new laws and waves of old ones are growing. Especially many departmental instructions and codes of various sorts are being turned out. Many of them reduce even the best laws to naught. It is time to return to Lenin's demand that we must legislate intelligently and consider the matter thoroughly before promulgating a law.

The situation with regard to the legal knowledgeability of the public is no better. V. I. Lenin personally took part in publicizing new laws among the public and took steps to improve the legal education of the working people. But subsequently the experience of the Soviet regime's first years in this field of ideological work (and legal education, according to Lenin, is an extremely important area of the party's ideological work) was consigned to oblivion, and the Bacchanalia of lawlessness and tyranny during the time of Stalin's personality cult and the years of stagnation certainly did nothing to help educate the people in the spirit of respect for laws and the enhancement of their legal knowledgeability.

The question of renewing the personnel corps serving in the state and party apparatus is especially acute. Great October struck a smashing blow against the bureaucracy by eliminating the table of ranks. It turned out, however, that in place of the table of ranks the nomenklatura was introduced, which opened access to important state offices to people who were less than the most competent administrators, to careerists, and simply to dishonest people.

At present the party, having set a course of restructuring the state apparatus, is counting on its complete democratization, utilizing openness and glasnost for this purpose and relying on the support of the working class, taking advantage of its thoroughgoing espousal of democracy, its uncompromising attitude in the struggle against the bureaucracy, and its resolve to carry that struggle through to the finish. Here we see help in getting the personnel corps thoroughly restructured so that it conforms to the concept of a socialist law-governed state.

There is one more complicated aspect of the concept of a socialist law-governed state that requires both scholarly treatment and practical solutions. Readers write about this, too. One of them, R. Zavinovskiy, a war and labor veteran from Leningrad, believes that there can be no talk of a correct relationship between power and the law when party agencies have arrogated all power to themselves and try to decide all questions, including economic-management and, even, judicial questions. Of course, it is impossible not to agree with that. Interference by party agencies in the work of the administrative, economic-management and judicial agencies is the unavoidable consequence of the command style of management, which was predominant during the period of Stalin's personality cult and has remained so until just the past few years.

But the party has even begun addressing this extremely complicated question, initiating political reform and the redistribution of functions and powers. The 19th All-Union Party Conference, multicandidate democratic elections, and the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies have returned us the historical slogan, "Power to the soviets!" And returned it not as a mere declaration, but as a reality. Today the people, in the person of the deputies to whom it has entrusted its powers, is playing a decisive role in the formation of the state apparatus, in drafting and adopting new legislative acts, and in carrying out foreign and domestic policy. Everything that has taken place in recent months in our country, before our eyes and with our participation, amounts to real steps toward democracy and, hence, toward a law-governed state. All this permits us to hope that restructuring really will result in the supremacy of law.

#### 'Roundtable' Views Legal Status of 'Informal' Groups

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[Report by V. Golovanov, LG columnist: "Guarantees For 'Informals'"]

[Text] We are living in conditions of highly compressed historical time. Social processes which formerly took decades now develop within a few months. A wave of interethnic clashes has swept the country. The first strike experiments have been staged. The participation of informal groups and movements in many events has become a fact of political life.

What can we make of this? How can the actions of such groups be placed in a legal framework? How can public movements be made constructive?

We posed these questions to the participants in a "round table" at which representatives of the new public forces debated with legal scholars involved in drafting a bill, "On Public Associations of Citizens of the USSR," which, when it becomes law, will define the ways of development of public initiative.

Participating in the LG "roundtable" were scientists S. A. Bogolyubov, Candidate of Legal Science, one of the authors of the draft law and lead scientific associate at the All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Soviet State Organization and Law; D. V. Shutko, Candidate of Legal Science, head of the Public Organizations Problem Group of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the State and Law; and O. V. Orlova, Candidate of Legal Sciences, senior scientific associate at the same institute.

The "informals" were represented by Yu. Mityunov (Independent Journalists Trade Union); V. Zolotarev ("Civil Dignity" organization); A. Isayev (Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation); L. Frumkin and A. Fedorovskiy (Moscow Popular Front); E. Molchanov and Yu.

Skubko ("Democratic Alliance"); S. Zabelin ("Socio-Ecological Alliance"); and V. Baydin (Intercity Workers Club).

The debate was moderated by I. Gamayunov, manager of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's Ethics and Law Department, and LG columnists A. Borin and V. Golovanov.

**I. Gamayunov:** A request to the representatives of informal organizations: After briefly telling us about yourself, try and answer the question: What actions by the "informals," on the one hand, and the authorities, on the other, could jeopardize the development of democracy in our country?

**V. Zolotarev:** I represent the organization "Civil Dignity." Although not yet two years old, it is one of the oldest organizations. Our credo is: Constitutional parliamentary democracy, multiparty, pluralist state life, and, naturally, diversity of forms of ownership. We consider that the only way to implement this program is through peaceful reforms, through a dialogue with those representatives of the authorities who are prepared for it. As for the dangers on the road of the democratic movement, one of them has become fairly clear: it is populism. That is, flirting with the people, simplification of the political and economic picture so as to gain quick political success. This includes "revolutionary" promises which are actually unable to fundamentally affect the current situation.

In our view, this tendency first emerged last year in Moscow. Its danger is that, in conditions when dissatisfaction and tensions are running extremely high, blind worship of certain persons may develop... We have examples of such populist leaders in Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Gdlyan and Ivanov, who deliberately exploit the image of a "revolutionary"—in the worst sense of the word...

**A. Fedorovskiy:** I represent the "Moscow Popular Front." I think that the idea of a multiparty system cannot be fully realized at this time. The political structure of society is developing rapidly, but we nevertheless see that the existence of an opposition "Democratic Alliance" has not changed the situation fundamentally. There is no political competition. The Constitution, and in particular Article 6, perpetuates the situation that has formed in our society. Its abnormality lies in the fact that the people have been divided into a governed majority and governing minority. Now vast human masses have come into motion and we will, naturally, see various groups of people, even the most uninformed and politically ignorant, pushing leaders to the fore. But that will not yet mean genuine pluralism. That is why we see the primary task of the organizations which have joined the "Moscow Popular Front" as the politicization of society, the struggle for the "middle stratum."

As for the dangers for informal movements, I consider the main danger to be that of an authoritarian coup. I am very worried by the growing tensions. If perestroika

starts to slip seriously we will probably be faced with only two alternatives: a military-technocratic coup, the first phase of which would be a "legal coup" (it is precisely from this point of view that I regard the now partially repealed April act [ukaz]). Or the leader who declared the need for perestroika will be forced to adopt the policy of the conservative majority so as not to be removed, like N. S. Khrushchev or B. N. Yeltsin, who violated the law of corporate ethics. I see no threat from informal associations, except for the "Pamyat" organization, which has already notified me twice over the phone about my physical removal. This may be political mischief, but in the light of the practical actions we have seen in Central Asia one must reckon with it.

**S. Zabelin:** Our "Socio-Ecological Alliance" is, apparently, the least politicized organization among those represented here. For us participation in political life is but a means of achieving the objectives defined in our program: The creation of living conditions—in the areas of ecology, everyday life and culture—truly worthy of people. The "green" movement originated spontaneously back during the darkest years of stagnation. At present it unites some 30,000 people all over the country. Several hundreds of them have formally united in the "Socio-Ecological Alliance," which I represent. Our basic principle is our antidepartmental stance. At present departmental bureaucracies have completely monopolized ecological information and dominate virtually unchallenged in decision-making. We are doing everything to deprive them of that monopoly. We have, for example, now launched a campaign of protest against the formation of joint enterprises and the conclusion of shackling contracts which provide for exporting dirty technologies to our country. Our practical activities involve monitoring the ecological situation and making it known by every means possible, from press publications to the distribution of typed leaflets. Legally this activity has, regrettably, not yet been fully defined. Our inaugural convention drew up a charter which has, in accordance with current law, been submitted to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, but so far we have received no reply. Perhaps because the charter includes two paragraphs which, if endorsed, would give us the right to monitor the state of the environment and compliance with laws in this area... As for dangers, it is hard to say—although at the local level they are quite apparent: direct persecution of our movement's leaders, telephone calls, and threats. No, not from "Pamyat," but from more "formal" organizations...

**Yu. Skubko:** I think we are all in approximately the same situation of lacking any legal protection. I simultaneously represent the Moscow organization of the "Memorial" association and the "Democratic Alliance." There is no need to talk a lot about Memorial's activities. They are most fully reflected in the pronouncements of Academician Sakharov and have the purpose of denouncing violent, terroristic methods of government administration... As for the "Democratic Alliance," we regard it as an opposition party. It was formed a year

ago. Strictly speaking, it is a precedent. We arrived at the need to implement such a precedent through a realization of the need for a political opposition which, it is our conviction, is an essential element of normal political life. The Democratic Alliance's basic principle is nonviolence. We assess the current situation as transitional from totalitarianism to democracy and, like most informal associations, we included in our organization's program the demand for political and economic pluralism, as well as the common human principles embodied in international pacts and agreements accepted by the Soviet Union, but which so far have virtually never been implemented in the country.

The "Democratic Alliance" has a multifaction structure capable of expanding and forming independent parties, from social-democratic to Christian-democratic. Our task actually is to facilitate the creation of a healthy political infrastructure. The "Democratic Alliance" has a membership of around two thousand. There are fairly large organizations in Moscow, Leningrad and Novosibirsk. Some 30 periodicals are being published. Yes, I repeat, we advocate nonviolence. That is why we regard the authorities' refusal to cooperate with us as the inability (or unwillingness) of representatives of the apparatus to live within a normal political infrastructure.

**V. Golovanov:** But even your "nonviolent" actions can be of a provocative nature. I would like to be understood correctly and therefore stress: they can be used to curtail democratic freedoms. Of course, for the opposition this would be a good pretext for discrediting the authorities, but I don't think that a serious opposition can be satisfied with such an objective... I may be wrong, but it seems to me that at present a politician's courage lies not in unwaveringly upholding his position but in utmost restraint, in the ability to accept another point of view...

**Yu. Skubko:** I agree.

**A. Isayev:** As far as I know, all informal organizations are for cooperation with the authorities. But this is fraught with the danger of becoming a part of the existing system. In its time the "Obshchina" [Community] group, which stood at the source of the present Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation, went through this experience. Considering civil war to be the worst of all evils, we have adopted a course of basic compromise, in the assumption that compromise would in any case never be in the interests of the bureaucracy but in the interests of developing democracy. But at the same time experience has shown that along with the indubitable liberalization of the authorities, this road is fraught with such an unpleasant thing as bureaucratization of the informal movement. Our Confederation was formed on May 1 of this year, and it already has sections in 13 cities. Our program provides for making the means of production the property of worker collectives and for the creation of a federation of soviets which would preclude any party, or even coalition of parties, from taking over power.

The essence of our position is to criticize the authorities while at the same time always offering alternative variants of solutions. But to keep from turning into a kind of "pocket opposition" informal associations should be ready to appeal to public opinion and even head it in the struggle for various changes. Such an opposition does not, however, presume the other extreme of direct confrontation. Some informal organizations assume that their duty is solely to "go out into the streets." But by "going out into the streets" we frequently jeopardize not only our own fate but the fate of the people around us and ultimately the fate of the country. It is worth going out into the streets only when there really is no other way out.

**V. Baydin:** But what is the right way out? It will appear when the new economic relations are put into law. I represent the Intercity Workers Club, which has been functioning since August 1987. At present sections of our club are operating in 23 cities. They are independent clubs sharing a common name: the Moscow Workers Club, the Leningrad "Worker Initiative," the Yaroslavl club at the YaMZ [Yaroslavl Motor] Plant, clubs in Donetsk and Novokuznetsk... Not long ago we had a general get-together in Moscow in an attempt to form a workers alliance. But on some issues positions diverged. This is also quite normal, because the worker movement is younger and less organized than the intelligentsia movement. As for the dangers which may threaten the informals... You know, we had that meeting, and the AUCCTU acted as sponsor. I understand the AUCCTU's purpose: they wanted to see whom they had to deal with. An interesting situation arose: We had nowhere to put up our Leningrad delegation, so the sponsors suggested that they invite the Leningrad people to a hotel, but in return they would send six people from the United Working People's Front, set up on initiatives "from above," to the meeting. We agreed. But with all due respect for the guys from the United Front, their program is, on the whole, a repetition of those same old slogans which, actually, have led us into a dead end. That is where the greatest danger for the democratic labor movement, which is making its first steps, lies. Because the Intercity Workers Club unites a mere handful, 600-700 people, while the United Working People's Front, they say, was able to stage a rally of 150,000. That is, if such trends take the upper hand then the entire informal labor movement has nothing to count on: It will merely be a convenient tool for administrative manipulations, though with references to "worker interests."

**I. Gamayunov:** Before giving the floor to our scholars I would like to ask group representatives whether there are any registered organizations among those invited?

**Yu. Skubko:** "Memorial" is registered, but I also represent the "Democratic Alliance" here, and it isn't...

**I. Gamayunov:** What about the "Socio-Ecological Alliance"?

**S. Zabelin:** We are trying to register under a 1932 law, but alas...

**I. Gamayunov:** Now let us give the floor to our scholars. Who is first?

**O. Orlova:** Since mention has been made of the law of 1932, which to this day continues to define procedures for forming public organizations, I would like to clarify that the law provides only for the establishment of so-called volunteer societies. But in the last 57 years we have, nevertheless, advanced, we have joined various international pacts. That is why the new draft law covers a variety of public organizations: associations, movements, funds, all that we have as of today...

**V. Golovanov:** We have here at least two organizations which envisage the formation of parties in the future. Does the bill provide for the legal formalization of such ideas?

**O. Orlova:** No. Firstly, the bill itself does not deal with parties. It is called "Law on Public Associations of Citizens of the USSR" and it deals, as I mentioned before, with societies, foundations, movements, as well as such public self-government agencies as house and street committees and interest groups...

**V. Golovanov:** But doesn't it seem to you that we thus exclude the most active forces from social life? Here at this table we have so to say representatives of those forces, but it is precisely them whom we do not take into account.

**O. Orlova:** No, I think that, on the contrary, we are anticipating events somewhat, because attempts to set up parties at this time are, in my view...

**D. Shutko:** ...premature.

**O. Orlova:** Yes. We are simply not ready yet...

**E. Molchanov:** But what criteria do you use to judge society's maturity?

**O. Orlova:** The thing is that this law simply doesn't deal with parties. It doesn't cover the party, or the Komsomol, or the trade unions or creative unions.

**E. Molchanov:** I see. But here is another question: When the bill was being drafted was any consideration given to the notification principle for registering new organizations?

**O. Orlova:** The draft provides—quite wrongly, in my view—for a kind of two-stage registration or endorsement procedure. It states that a public organization must first submit its program and charter to the Ministry of Justice, which within in two months must authorize its registration. I consider this to be fundamentally wrong.

**A. Fedorovskiy:** I would like to draw attention to a notion which has been voiced and is currently extensively bandied about at all levels: "Less haste." We also want our society to be rebuilt step by step. The question only

is what each next step will be. Will it be marking time or real advance? I think the only result of efforts to maintain the current situation has been and continues to be that issues which could have been resolved yesterday become unsolvable today. Take price reform, which we could have carried out two years ago, but now no longer can. And if today we delegate control over public initiative to the still bureaucratized apparatus we will have a neo-Stalinist system.

**D. Shutko:** One of the axioms of a law-governed state is, indeed, freedom of association. And it is the state that takes upon itself to create a system of guarantees of that right. Freedom of association was recorded back in the first Constitution of 1918.

In Stalin's time the concept was transformed, and the concept "freedom of association" was omitted from the 1936 Constitution, as well as from the 1977 Constitution. True, we acceded to the pacts of 1966 and ratified the ILO convention on freedom of association; it is another thing that we have not always complied with it... When our foreign colleagues would say that we have restrictions on freedom of association we treated this as interference in our internal affairs. But we must concede that the criticism was in many respects correct. That is why, I think, we should regard the informal movement, and especially popular fronts, as a significant political force. The situation in the Baltic republics and Georgia clearly indicates this. I think that scientific thought should be directed at in some way legislatively defining this situation and making possible a dialogue with forces operating within the constitutional framework, in the framework of socialism. This would assure cooperation for the benefit of change.

As for the draft law on public associations, it is an apparent move forward. The provision for disbanding an association, whereby the question of disbanding can be resolved only in court, is a move forward. It represents an appearance of judicial guarantees that testifies to our advance in the direction of a law-governed state. Even though it will take time for full implementation of the right to freedom of association. As for multiparty status, I think that in the current crisis no good can come of this...

**A. Borin:** At the same time we cannot deny the existence of crisis manifestations in our party. We know cases of communists turning in their party cards and resigning from the party... How do you imagine renovation of the party without competitive struggle?

**D. Shutko:** But the party is growing, many young people are joining it. These processes could be accelerated by an extraordinary congress, a revision of some party decisions of the 1920s, such as the absolute ban on factions...

**A. Borin:** That is, renovation through internal democratization?

**D. Shutko:** Moreover, very fundamental...

**A. Fedorovskiy:** Doesn't it seem to you, Dmitry Vladimirovich, that by retaining special conditions for the CPSU you are actually aggravating the situation that has developed in society? I feel that the normal development of society, the party included, can be assured through what has been called political pluralism.

**D. Shutko:** But that is, in my opinion, precisely the area in which tremendous advances have been made.

**A. Fedorovskiy:** Advances with respect to what, if I may ask?

**D. Shutko:** With respect to what existed under the old legislation.

**A. Fedorovskiy:** But is it right to compare with the past while neglecting international experience?

**S. Bogolyubov:** As an author of the draft law, I would like to offer some explanations. At present we have what is, probably, the penultimate version of the bill, because it has advanced further through echelons to people possessing legislative initiative. We authors of the bill have something to be proud of. The entire spirit of this law is directed at guaranteeing the activity of public initiative as provided for in the Constitution, at restricting those bureaucratic echelons that could intervene in the activities of public associations. I should tell you that for almost a year a debilitating fight was waged over every norm.

Take, for example, the question of who should do the registering. Today we regard it as self-evident that this must be done by the Ministry of Justice. But I would like to tell you about some alternative variants. Firstly, there was the variant of preserving the procedure that has been in place over the last decades, whereby public organizations were set up on the initiative, or with the concurrence, of the respective ministries and departments. We rejected that provision. I, who am concerned with ecology, consider that the Ministry of Water Resources would never register a movement against the costly construction projects which sprang up in the 1980s. To constrain initiative in such a way would mean to smother it in its cradle. There were other variants of registration organizations: the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The decision to delegate registration to the Ministry of Justice means, in the first place, elimination of the question of the usefulness of this or that organization, which was formerly decided at the discretion of officials. Now there is only one justification for registration: compliance with the Constitution. Reasons for nonregistration are all clearly formulated in the law.

An application would be submitted to the Ministry of Justice only for preliminary review of the organization's charter and purposes, not for permission. Public associations which do not pursue political objectives won't

even have to register. Theoretically, the bill is formulated in such a way that the greater the obligations which a public association wishes to assume the greater must its contacts with the state be.

**S. Zabelin:** But in actual fact preliminary review of charters will mean that the registration procedure will drag out for years. Because to approve the charter it is necessary to convene a conference of the organization, and then another one to take into account the "corrections" made by the Ministry of Justice!

**A. Isayev:** I still wonder why the notification principle of registration is provided for only for interest groups, sections and other associations with no claim to public and political activity...

**S. Bogolyubov:** Let us keep our feet on the ground! After all, public political organizations hold conventions, distribute literature and so on. From the point of view of protecting its citizens' interests, shouldn't the state monitor them?

**A. Isayev:** That is to say that the bill violates the presumption of innocence. It as it were anticipates that "informals" may violate...

**V. Golovanov:** I would like to hear about the paragraphs that could provide the basis for nonregistration.

**S. Bogolyubov:** Actually, they are up in the air and even keep popping up in the press. They include fomenting ethnic strife, violating territorial integrity, inciting hostility towards other states and peoples, changing the existing system by force.

**A. Borin:** What does "violation of territorial integrity" mean? Will actions—peaceful, of course—in favor of a republic's secession from the Union be treated as a "violation of territorial integrity"?

**S. Bogolyubov:** No, this is, apparently, something else. In general, we took the concept of "territorial integrity" from Canadian and British law.

**A. Borin:** But I ask you as a lawyer: You drafted the bill and submitted it to the highest echelons. Isn't it obvious that this paragraph is open to the most arbitrary interpretations?

**E. Molchanov:** The value of all the mentioned restrictions apparently lies in the fact that they should preclude broad interpretations. But the fact of the matter is (in addition to the inventiveness of our bureaucratic interpreters) that some paragraphs actually assume such ambiguous, broad interpretation. So that if one so desires one can define a national-democratic movement as incitement to ethnic discord. In other words, the restrictions should be made specific to the utmost. Otherwise supremacy of the law will not be assured.

**S. Bogolyubov:** In this sense our wishes coincide with yours. If you have more precise formulas than ours, we are ready to discuss them.

**Yu. Skubko:** We are not prepared to offer you precise wordings at this time, though the very idea of collaboration between science and democratic movements is, doubtlessly, constructive. In my view the bill should be published for discussion, then precise wordings will appear. After all, to live democratically we must make use of already existing democratic mechanisms, such as the law on nationwide discussion of vitally important draft legislation.

**A. Fedorovskiy:** Will the law permit publications by informal associations?

**S. Bogolyubov:** We have agreed with the working group drawing up the law on glasnost that all questions concerning the mass media would be covered in that law. Our law will contain a reference to the law on the press, which will apparently be passed sooner...

**V. Golovanov:** As I understand it, the law envisages the existence of public organizations of different levels and status. What are the upper limits of freedom for public organizations in respect of funding, premises, international contacts, and so on?

**S. Bogolyubov:** The highest status is that of voluntary association, movement or fund. A voluntary society can own property, premises, media outlets, it can have a charter, exchange outlets, international contacts, in short, a wide range of prerogatives.

**Yu. Skubko:** But under the Constitution voluntary societies are not subjects of political activity. That means that without changing the Constitution, without implementing the requirements of international pacts, adoption of the law as it is will, in my opinion, not lead to any good.

**L. Frumkin:** I agree with the comrades that the law should operate only in conjunction with other laws, not separately. Otherwise we will get all those half-laws and half-freedoms we had before. And the law's point of reference should be not the past, but the current and future tasks of society. Otherwise public movements will be driven underground and the situation with their development will be unpredictable.

**Yu. Mityunov:** I think that registration with the Ministry of Justice is indeed a good idea on the part of the lawyers, but it should be a purely technical matter, like registering a motorcycle or bicycle. And if in future it is found that the actions of some organization are of an illegal nature then society will seek to close it down through the court system and the prosecutor's office... There are, of course, advances in the new bill, but in comparison with what? With the chasm of totalitarianism? With the fact that we simply never had any concept of legality?..

Finally, it was claimed here that the existence of several parties would aggravate tensions in the country and lead to virtual confrontation between parties as represented by their action groups. But the political practice of all countries shows that underground extremist structures

appear publicly when opportunities for the legal activity of public organizations are closed... That is the world experience... I once worked in the Council on Religious Affairs, in the department which analyzed the religious situation in our country, and I saw that the ban on the activity of religious organizations in the 1960s gave rise to a vast religious underground with a well-functioning clandestine system of ties abroad, with secrecy and all that accompanies the existence of illegal organizations... Then the "creators" of that underground in the 1960s were, in the 1980s, awarded medals for ultimately having to "legalize" that underground.

**A. Fedorovskiy:** If we are serious when we speak of a common European world home we cannot ignore the legal experience accumulated by human civilization. Today we must prepare a revolution of minds which must precede the formation of a law-governed state, and political pluralism is an essential element of this.

**Yu. Mityunov:** The people already proved their acceptance of the idea of many parties when people's deputy Arkadiy Morashov, who put forward a multiparty platform, overwhelming defeated the Raykom secretary and two more candidates in the capital's Timiryazev Rayon.

**O. Orlova:** I consider that one of the bill's drawbacks is that it essentially deals only with procedures for setting up various public structures. It would probably be better if it also dealt with the principles of relations between state and public organizations, interaction based on equal partnership and cooperation, including, perhaps, on a contractual basis. Secondly, I don't think the bill contradicts international pacts. It is another matter when actual implementation of the law (like many others passed before) is in violation of those pacts. In view of the fact that the general level of society's legal culture is low the problem will, alas, not be resolved any time soon. Thirdly, the question was raised here of the party, the press, and so on. But why try to put everything into one law? Currently laws are being drafted on glasnost and the youth; it has been proposed to draw up a law on the party or even parties. Intensive work is going on—I can assure you—on drawing up a draft of a new Constitution which would take into account the changes that have occurred in our society. It therefore seems to me that the pessimistic assessment of this bill is wrong, although it does have some serious drawbacks.

**L. Frumkin:** Aren't we falling into law mania by adopting a vast number of laws which do not fit into the current Constitution?

**O. Orlova:** I would probably agree that before adopting all kinds of laws we should change the Constitution. Unfortunately, that is now impossible: we lack the economic, social and political support for this. We could patch it up, but I don't think that is a way out of the situation. The Constitution is in need of radical revision, and that would take at least two years...

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On this we end the "roundtable" discussion, which lasted several hours. We do this deliberately, because it was precisely the finale of the debate that revealed the inadequacies of our lawmaking in general and the shortcomings of the new bill, in particular. But let us not mislead ourselves: the "Law on Public Associations of Citizens of the USSR" is of the greatest importance. It is a law on the place public opinion will occupy in our society. It is a law on pluralism. So let us sum up what was said at the meeting:

Bills of such importance must have authors: thereby we introduce an element of personal responsibility into lawmaking. They should be debated along with one or several alternative drafts.

Today we cannot develop laws without taking world experience into account. The new draft could be based on international pacts signed by the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the law "On Public Associations of Citizens of the USSR" should, apparently, be called "On Freedom of Association of Citizens of the USSR."

Freedom of association should also assume freedom of political structuring. If the informal structures that have taken shape are not involved in the process of social restructuring the political situation in the country can develop only in one direction: greater confrontation.

Just as a law on the press should be primarily a law on freedom of the press, the discussed law should provide public organizations with legal guarantees of noninterference by the state in their activity and at the same time clearly formulate their legal responsibilities to society and the state.

Finally, in accordance with the principle of openness, a draft law of such importance should be submitted for national discussion. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA hopes to return to it after its publication.

#### Turkmen Teacher Discusses 'National Limitations' Among Students

18350026a

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 8 July 1989 carries on page 3 a 1,400 word article by O. Shaberdiyeva, senior teacher in the Faculty of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy at the A. M. Gorkiy Turkmen State University, headlined "An Important Factor In Education" on efforts being made to indoctrinate students in the spirit of internationalism. "As noted at the 20th Congress of the VLKSM, we must not focus on slogans, but on deep and basic measures. Because we have done this, we have not witnessed the negative situations which took place in Tbilisi, Ferghana, Sumgait and Stepanakert." The problem confronted by education administrators is that of the 8 thousand students attending the Turkmen State University, "the majority are from rural rayons. One must note that the knowledge, general educational, and cultural level of those coming from rural areas is low. Thus we have to be

especially concerned with the surroundings of these youths. We must consider their internationalist composition when we allocate them living space. But there are often times when this is forgotten when we form student groups. This leads to internationalistic and national limitations among the student youth." She adds that "for a long time students of Turkmen philology have stayed together when they receive room allocations. This exerts a negative effect on their already poor knowledge of Russian as well as on their general educational development." She claims that similar situations exist in other departments of the university also.

### **Rayon Students Stay Away From Ashkhabad Riots**

18350026b

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 16 July 1989 carries on page 1 a 1,500 word interview with R. G. Berdiyeva, director of the Proletar Rayon Department of Peoples Education, headlined "We Must Support Education" in which she discusses the reasons why Proletar Rayon [in Ashkhabad] students did not take part in the Ashkhabad riots. The interviewer, noting that the "negative situations" which occurred in Ashkhabad and Nebitdag "disturbed many people," inquired about the situation in Proletar Rayon. Berdiyeva responded: "There was no participation by students in our rayon's schools in the hooliganistic actions in Ashkhabad, and we appreciated the fact that they stayed away from these negative events. But this, in itself, gives us no grounds for complacency." She claims that the reason behind the students' nonparticipation is that "we work together with the Inspectorate For Work With Teenagers of the Internal Affairs Department of the rayon Soviet of

Peoples Deputies; in other words, we consult together regularly." As a consequence of this cooperation, the rate of student crime has dropped sharply in recent years.

### **Release of Students Intensifies Social Stratification**

18010002 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Sep 89  
Second Edition p 8

[Letter by I. Ganapolskiy: "Who Is to Be Reduced"]

[Text] I am not trying to be cute, but I think that you will not publish my letter, since it contradicts official opinion.

A decision has been taken not to draft students into the Armed Forces. But who will be drafted? Workers and peasants? It's true that ours is a government of workers and peasants, so let them defend it! Meanwhile the students are to study and hold meetings.

This decision will even further deepen the stratification of our society. Indeed it is no secret whose children go to the institutes and whose to the PTUs [professional-technical schools], etc.

And further. The absolutely correct decision on the unilateral reduction of our Armed Forces has also, apparently, gone awry. We are sending our children to learn to defend the motherland, and not to build roads. Reduce the construction battalions and the road [building] units. Then the numbers will be smaller and combat readiness will not be decreased. Then there won't be any more Rusts landing in the center of Moscow.

[Signed] *I. Ganapolskiy, Member of the CPSU since 1943, veteran of war and labor, of the city of Kiev.*

**Georgian People's Front Posts Demands**

18130002 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 27 Jul 89 p 2

[Georgian People's Front statement, prefaced by Chairman Nodar Natadze: "From the Georgian People's Front"]

[Text]

**Dear Readers!**

The text printed below, a statement by the Georgian People's Front, was posted on the Georgian People's Front Building (2 Leonidze Street, Tbilisi) on 24 July of this year and read at a rally on Rustaveli Prospekt in front of the Academy of Sciences on 25 July. Since we have no means of contacting other cities and rayons of Georgia, I have taken the liberty of asking AKHAL-GAZRDA KOMUNISTI to publish it, inasmuch as I consider the newspaper's editors to be of progressive spirit.

Please keep in mind that a disagreement on tactics does not mean opposition to the organizers of the action discussed below, and if you think our caution is excessive, please do not take it to be lack of courage.

Nodar Natadze, Chairman of the Board, Georgian People's front.

**From the Georgian People's Front**

Inasmuch as Lower Kartlia is threatened by renewed attempts at genocide against the Georgians; a real war is going on in Abkhazia between unarmed Georgians and their armed opponents; and the enemy's plan of eradicating Georgians in Georgia has been virtually exposed; and, consequently, we anticipate the opening of more and more battle fronts in the near future, the Georgian People's Front considers it inexpedient to open one more battle front between the people and the administration in Tbilisi and other cities. Given the covert war that is being conducted against the Georgian nation today, it behooves us to take account of the elementary laws of tactical action. The Board of the Georgian People's Front believes that the general strike of indefinite duration following the Day of Mourning is neither the sole nor, at present, the most expedient form of struggle. A struggle can take many forms, forms that are both less and more drastic than a strike, and the choice must always be made on the basis of the needs of a given moment. The Georgian People's Front does allow for the possibility of a strike in enterprises of all-union jurisdiction (except for those which are directly or indirectly involved in building homes for Adjarians and Svans) as an auxiliary form of struggle, and is setting up a Strike Committee to plan a strike of the aforementioned enterprises if the need arises.

The necessity of a strike will arise if the following demands are not or cannot be met before the middle of August:

1. Punishment of those guilty of genocide or attempted genocide against the Georgian people in Abkhazia and Lower Kartlia.

2. Substantial changes in the cadre policies of those regions.

Accordingly, the Georgian People's Front is not taking part in the ongoing strike, but it is ready to use every means to defend those participating in the strike for the sake of the aforementioned demands or for the sacred demand of Georgian independence, if they are in any danger.

The Georgian People's front is against having the strike be accompanied by a continuing rally in the center of the city, believing that such a rally constitutes a stage that is past.

The Georgian People's Front believes that Georgia is in a life-and-death situation and declares a Patriotic Struggle to save the country.

The struggle will go on many years. We must unite. We must prepare ourselves physically and morally for the struggle. The enemy will not indulge us any weakness, or slackening of vigilance, or lack of professionalism. We must win this struggle. Right is on our side. The tide of history is on our side. God is on our side.

LONG LIVE FREE GEORGIA!

**Lithuanian Social Democratic Party Holds Conference**

18001593 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
15 Aug 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Conference of the Social Democratic Party"]

[Text] On 12 August in the republic Academy of Sciences Presidium Hall a conference was held on the rebirth of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP). More than 170 members of the party from various cities and rayons of the republic gathered for the meeting.

Former member of the LSDP Central Committee Alfonsas Yakubenas opened the conference.

Participants of the conference were greeted by Andryus Bilaytis, a member of the Social Democratic Society of Lithuanians of the FRG, Yurgis Valaytis a member of the overseas delegation of the LSDP who had come from the United States, Arvidas Yuosaytis, a member of the Sejm Council of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika, and representatives of other social organizations. Telegrams of greetings which were sent by the daughter of former party activist Vladas Pozhyala, Izolda Pozhyalayte from Australia, and by the First Secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol, Alfonsas Mataytis were read.

Vityanis Andryukaytis, a member of the Organizational Committee for the Rebirth of the Party, spoke about the

development of the activities of the LSDP. Three reports were read: "Economic Aspects of Lithuania" by Kazimeras Antanavichyus; "Social-Legal Aspects of Lithuania" by Yuozas Shatas; and "Mutual Relations Between the LSDP and Other Forming Political Forces" by Kazimeras Burdylis.

The participants of the conference ratified a new set of party regulations, and discussed the draft program of the LSDP which will be presented for discussion at the party congress which will take place in October. Resolutions were passed and documents were approved including an appeal to the Socialist International requesting reestablishment of the membership of the LSDP.

"The main purpose of the conference is to legalize the activity of the party" said Vityanis Andryukaytis in a conversation with ELTA correspondent V. Prekyavichyus. "Our goal is a flourishing Lithuania in the association of the peoples of the world."

#### **Ukrainian Veterans' Official on Cooperation with 'Rukh'**

90UN0017a Moscow VETERAN in Russian  
No 40, 2-8 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with V.I. Klokov, Hero of the Soviet Union, doctor of historical sciences, corresponding member, UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, USSR people's deputy, chairman, Ukrainian Republic Veterans' Council, by T. Sadkovskaya, correspondent: "Rukh": Roads and Crossroads"]

[Text] The constituent congress of "Rukh"—the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka—was held recently in Kiev. What is this movement, what is its program and first steps—this was the subject of the interview conducted by our correspondent T. Sadkovskaya with V.I. Klokov, Hero of the Soviet Union, doctor of historical sciences, corresponding member of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, USSR people's deputy, and chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Veterans' Council.

[Correspondent] When translated into Russian "Rukh" means "dvizheniye" [movement]. Movement as an antonym of stagnation? Movement as a "change in general"? This short word has precipitously burst into the republic's sociopolitical life. Some persons fanatically defend the idea of "Rukh," considering that its principal purpose is to aid by all means in the creation of conditions for a worthy human life, active participation in constructing in the Ukraine a democratic and humane society, one which will achieve a genuine people's power [regime], wealth for the people, along with the revival and multi-faceted development of the Ukrainian nation. Others just as furiously refuse to accept the ideas of "Rukh," considering them to be thoroughly imbued with the yellow-and-blue color tones of "samostiyost'" [Ukrainian independence movement] and that the correct words sly mask nationalistic ideas. And as proof they cite quotations, primarily from the speeches of

operators at the recent constituent congress of "Rukh," and those made at recent meetings: While the Ukraine remains within the USSR, not a single one of its problems can be solved"; "Lenin is the idol of communism. He never was a friend of the people...." And so what is "Rukh" really, Vsevolod Ivanovich? A constructive force which exerts a powerful influence on the process of perestroyka in this republic? Or a fanatical mob of extremist-nationalists, the image of which has been clearly delineated by a number of newspaper publications?

[V.I. Klokov] "Rukh" is a heterogeneous movement. Its embryo, of course, lies in the past, in the mistakes made in solving the nationality problems during the periods of the cult of personality and stagnation. When, renewed by perestroyka, we began to meditate about what had happened to us, what we are now, and who we are in general, suddenly we "remembered" that we are Ukrainians.... But, then, where is our language, where do you hear Ukrainian being spoken in a city? And, in such a case, where is our culture? At the meeting a young worker from the Lenin Smithy was sitting next to me....

[Correspondent] Vsevolod Ivanovich, the Ukrainian reader knows what meeting you are talking about, but others do not have such information at their disposal. Within a few days after the work of the "Rukh" Constituent Congress was completed, upon the proposal of a number of party organizations and labor collectives, the Kiev party gorkom and gorispolkom adopted a decision to conduct a city-wide meeting to be entitled "In International Unity and Solidarity." As reported by RATAU, tens of thousands of Kievans gathered [assembled] on a Saturday at the republic stadium. People spoke about important, urgent problems. But the majority of the speakers, in one way or another, expressed their negative attitude toward "Rukh." Do you consider that such a unanimity at the meeting objectively reflects the Kievans' attitude toward the new movement?

[V.I. Klokov] Perhaps the continuation of my story will provide an answer to that question. This young lad shared the following thought with me: "I remember Ukrainian only when I go home to the village. But then I forget it." But, of course, language is the core of a national life, its soul. And the passions which have flared up in various regions of the country around language problems, which had previously been the concern of only a narrow circle of specialists, attest to the fact that all of us are gradually approaching an understanding of this truth. I think that the members of "Rukh" are primarily members of the intelligentsia; they could render inestimable aid to their own people in reviving the language, culture, and traditions.

A sense of national worth is an inalienable trait of the individual personality. An individual human being is incapable of closing his eyes to the shortcomings surrounding him, whether they are political, economic, or social. They are all interconnected and interwoven. I, as a person for whom international feelings were accepted

with life itself, can sincerely understand the aspiration of every people to preserve their own national independence. I remember how, at one time, a pamphlet by P.P. Shelest, the former first secretary of the Ukrainian CP, was published. It spoke well and beautifully about the people's independence and their traditions. And suddenly the following command came from on high: "Evaluate." In accordance with this command, the pamphlet was discussed in the collectives, including our History Institute as well. I spoke objectively, but, as it turned out, in defense of an objectionable book. Certain comrades later expressed their dissatisfaction to me on this score. But my close Ukrainian colleagues said to me: "You're a nice fellow, Vsevolod, but you're a Russian—they won't accuse you of nationalism."

[Correspondent] It's a recognizable tendency. It also resounded at the Congress of People's Deputies in the speeches by Russian writers, who justifiably do not understand why each word uttered in defense of their own people, a discussion about its alarms and misfortunes should immediately be perceived as a manifestation of chauvinism....

[V.I. Klokov] For that entire system which evolved and congealed during the years of the cult of personality and stagnation it was very convenient to have to do with a kind of averaged-out person, rather than with those individuals about whom we were talking. Nowadays you can hardly lift your head, and they are ready to paste a label on it, for example, that of a nationalist. On one occasion at the Congress of People's Deputies I began speaking about this with the remarkable Ukrainian poet, Boris Oleynik. I said the following: "Of course, 'Rukh' has correctly raised many questions. But where were you Ukrainian intellectuals before? Is it possible that you failed to see how the people's language and customs were disappearing from life? Where were you with your traditional heroic mission?" "That was our misfortune," he replied. "But we had the following bugaboo: "But is this not nationalism?" And I was compelled to agree because I knew the facts confirming the sincerity of his answer.

[Correspondent] Could it be that accusing all of "Rukh" of nationalism is also an attempt to utilize the old methods in the new times?

[V.I. Klokov] Of course I'm opposed to giving a negative evaluation to the movement as a whole. By the way, in speaking at the already-mentioned city-wide meeting, A.I. Kornienko, the first secretary of the party gorkom, noted that there were healthy forces in "Rukh," sincerely interested in the success of perestroyka. The city's party organization will carry on a constructive dialogue with them, proposing cooperation in solving timely problems in ecology, language, and culture. But, you know, this organization also has an extremist wing with slogans which you have already quoted, with attacks on the CPSU, with anti-socialist views. There are also simply hooligans who threaten in the Kreshchatik in the near future ("when we take power into our own hands....") to mete out rough justice with those persons "caught"

speaking Russian. I return to the point where I began: this is a very heterogeneous movement. And even their principal document—their program—evokes an ambiguous attitude. On the one hand—everything is correct. On the other hand—there is an unjustifiably demanding tone, when shortcomings and problems are being discussed. From whom do they demand their solution? Why do they list them in such a way as if they, the "Rukh" members, were the first to discover them? No, the first to talk honestly with the people is the party itself, which shouts: "Down with them!" at the yellow-and-blue meetings. Thanks to the party, it ultimately became possible for "Rukh" itself to exchange opinions. The party's courage will also help to restore and enhance its own prestige. How rapidly this occurs also depends upon how soon and how profoundly the party and its leadership goes to the people. I cannot find any answer to the following question: why at the time of the strikes by the Donetsk miners were there no primary party or soviet leaders from the republic to be seen? Perhaps an intelligent compromise could have been found sooner, and the colossal short supply of coal could have been reduced. But the "Rukh" activists did not let such an unusual phenomenon in our socio-political life remain without attention; they were in the Donets Basin. And some of them took advantage of this moment to add to the negative attitudes toward the party.

[Correspondent] The orator who spoke at the constituent congress about the danger that, unless "Rukh" develops its own ideology (to be sure, it is not understandable what kind of ideology), it will circle like a sputnik around the CPSU, did not receive the support of the hall. The movement's program documents express support for the party's course aimed at perestroyka. Is it obligatory, when listing shortcomings and problems, to point out each time the party was the first to mention them?

[V.I. Klokov] I'm an historian. And so, if I in my own works were to develop already published ideas without referring to the primary source, I would be accused of plagiarism. The speeches by many of our party and soviet leaders are now characterized by no less keenness in posing problems and innovation in the ways of solving them than those of some "Rukh" leaders. Therefore, both for the movement and for the cause of perestroyka, it would be more useful to designate common points of applying forces, and, with regard to individual matters, to openly express its own disagreement if such is the case.

[Correspondent] That is, to manifest that which, at times, is lacking in our political discussions—the ability to listen to an opponent, to try to find what is sensible and true in his point of view, and to express a readiness for constructive dialogue.

[V.I. Klokov] If this had occurred during the initial period when "Rukh" was emerging, I think that this movement would have been more pure and integrated. But from the local party and soviet organs at first there was simply its denial. But the extremist elements now see

in the possibility of cooperation with the party and soviet organs practically an undermining of the movement's authority.

[Correspondent] In a recent interview with M. Popovich, one of the initiators and theoreticians of "Rukh," in the republic newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAINA, speaks unambiguously about the fact that there is no basis for considering that the movement's extremist wing, as represented by the members of the so-called Ukrainian Helsinki League, could assume the dominant tone. M. Popovich considers that the top-priority task of "Rukh" is to prepare for elections and to support during the course of the election campaign candidates—both communists and non-party candidates—who are active advocates of perestroyka. A course is being taken which is aimed at specific tasks. The movement's commissions are operating along various lines—economic, ecological, and legal; and they with their draft programs and proposals will be addressed to the Soviets of People's Deputies.

[V.I. Klokov] It is only by specific deeds that "Rukh" can win its place today in the general restructuring processes. And one more thing: with a greater degree of openness and avoiding separatist ways, its unique kind of sectarianism. Just look at what is happening. A movement which is designated as national or popular is still represented by an extremely limited circle of people—no more than 280,000 members. Only "their own" people are notified about the upcoming meetings. You cannot simply drop in on them; the security group—lads with yellow-and-blue armbands—are always on their guard. Our veteran activists once attempted to drop in at one of the "Rukh" meetings. They could not. To be sure, they proposed to hold their own meeting as a counter-weight. But should we compete like that, to try to overcome the other side by holding extra meetings? The times expect specific deeds from us, concrete, well-balanced solutions to problems. And there is yet another negative factor from my point of view; it lies in the movements attitudes—a striving to force events, partially in the solution of language problems.

[Correspondent] It's better not to repeat the mistakes of the past. The Ukraine has already survived the attempt to "Ukrainianize" the population by means of a cavalry jump....

[V.I. Klokov] Yes, the preliminary draft law "On Languages in the Ukrainian SSR" speaks about the fact that this will not be a one-time strike. Speakers of other languages will begin to speak Ukrainian—the Ukrainians themselves, then there would be an influence on them of the best cultural forces of the Ukrainian people, and that means that a natural environment would begin to appear for mastering the language of the region in which you live. When I was finishing up school in Ufa, I had some trouble with the Bashkir language. But the schoolteacher insisted: unless you learn this poem, you won't receive your certificate. Sixty years, count them, have passed, and to this day I still remember that poem.

[Correspondent] Well, now, you're contradicting yourself. So it turns out that the element of compulsion is fully justified, right?

[V.I. Klokov] I remember the poem, but I still never learned the language. That's what forced, compulsory methods mean. But here's another example. During the war I, a Russian, happened to be in the Ukraine. My partisan friends, the local inhabitants, all spoke their native language. Well, there, in that natural linguistic environment, I really did assimilate the language; I can read it and communicate in it.

[Correspondent] Vsevolod Ivanovich, I have already told you that I have many friends in Kiev; they are school-chums. When I saw them, I told them about the purpose of my present assignment, and I named my interviewee, that is, you. And I was somewhat hurt by the skeptical reaction to this information: the chairman of the veterans' council? Of course, it's well known what he can tell you. Like the well-known charge that veterans are conservative, and are categorically hostile to everything new. Is this justified?

[V.I. Klokov] People of my generation are often inclined to be suspected of inertness of thought. Well now, we lived together with our country for a long time in a state of inertia. But nowadays we do not have a right to this. We must see the shoots of everything new that could help the cause of renewing our society and socialism. To fully deny "Rukh" means to think by inertia. There are healthy forces in this organization which can help the cause of perestroyka. The movement is at the stage of emerging, of searching for specific points of applying forces; it is only at the beginning of its difficult path to the truth. I think that this will occur on this path, and it will purify itself from the souters and the "samostyntsy," if this movement is truly popular, if it includes people whose hearts genuinely ache for the fate of their own people, alarm for the state of affairs throughout the country because beating around all the serious problems, and the main thing—the common problems.

#### Zhitomir Oblast Residents Meet With Officials on Chernobyl

18001621 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 35,  
28 Aug-3 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by A. Yaroshinskaya, USSR People's Deputy: "As Long As I Live, I Hope"]

[Text] *"In the Zone of an Especially Harsh Deception"—this was the title of an article by USSR People's Deputy A. Yaroshinskaya (NEDELYA No 30, 1989). She wrote about how, more than 3 years later the residents of Narodichskiy Rayon in Zhitomir Oblast, who have suffered as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, are still denied the truth about the actual situation and that public health data is kept secret. In addition, the radiation situation is very difficult and the illness rate is scandalous.*

*A few days ago in Narodichi there was a meeting of local inhabitants and members of the governmental commission on the emergency situation, headed by V. Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The participants included: Yu. A. Izrael, chairman of USSR Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology], V. V. Marin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel and Energy Complex, A. I. Kondruysev, first deputy chief of USSR Civil Defense, A. P. Povalyayev, deputy administration chief, USSR Gosagroprom, V. A. Knizhnikov, laboratory head at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Biophysics, Ye. V. Kachalovskiy, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, A. Yu. Romanenko, UkrSSR Minister of Health, and other senior officials. The meeting was attended by USSR Peoples Deputies V. S. Venglovskaya, V. M. Kavun, S. M. Ryabchenko and A. A. Yaroshinskaya. Let her have her word.*

It was expected that the governmental commission would arrive in Narodichi in helicopters. The landing strip was carefully inspected the day before. However, the next morning the weather in these regions prevented flying; therefore the guests were delayed somewhat.

Not knowing these details, they were anxious at the Narodichi House of Culture, which was filled and turning people away. The crowd in the square outside the hall was also anxious. There were women with children, solid looking men wearing neckties, machinery operators and milkmaids, wizened elderly people, and old women with walking sticks. It had been a long road here—3 years since Chernobyl. They had paid a high price along this sad road—in their own health and that of their children.

The meeting with the governmental commission was also attended by representatives of four neighboring rayons in the oblast, the countryside of which had also been contaminated by cesium-137 and by radioactive air. Anybody could come. While a similar meeting the night before in Polleskoye, Kiev Oblast, required a ticket, in Narodichi admission was free. The entire rayon center was radio equipped. The time of secrets had ended, and the time for relentless truth began.

Members of the governmental commission heard its deeply emotional, and at times harsh, sound. Radioactive contamination of the air and ground has increased in six rayons in the oblast. These contain 544 settlements with more than 93,000 people, including 20,000 children. The total "dirty" area is now 466,700 hectares. The background gamma radiation in the contaminated rayons is 1.25 milliroentgens per hour (for comparison, the natural background is 0.012 milliroentgens per hour). In some areas cesium-137 is producing more than 200 curies per square kilometer (the norm does not exceed 40). Strontium-90 and plutonium-239 have also been found.

All of the speakers, whether they were a sovkhoz director or a kolkhoz farmer, confidently used physical terms:

curie, gamma background, milliroentgen, rem. Somebody in the hall remarked bitterly: "In 3 years we have become specialists—physicists, radiobiologists..."

The chair gave the floor to A. Yu. Romanenko, the UkrSSR Minister of Health. The hall immediately exploded in a mumble of disapproval. Inhabitants of the long suffering northern rayons of Zhitomir Oblast identify him with that soothing information crammed into them for 3 long years. The minister did not dare to speak before the angry auditorium. During the meeting he approached me and invited me to visit his ministry in Kiev, promising to show "all data on these people's health." However, the "data" were here, at the podium, one after the other. Through the sobbing, V. I. Pri mechko, chairman of the Ostapovskiy Rural Soviet in Luchinskiy Rayon, turned to the minister:

"For 3 years we have been told that the radiation levels here were low, that there was no reason for concern. /F Why then do I have directions to the cancer ward? Why does my 8 year old still stay in the hospital? Why have his lymph nodes increased by 5 centimeters and why has he lost 70 percent of his vision? Who will answer for this?"

Who will answer for this? This question is hanging in the air, like the sword of Damocles. Unfortunately, we did not hear an answer to it at the meeting either. Avoiding this burning question, V. M. Kavun, first secretary of the Zhitomir Obkom, stated that when the accident occurred he was travelling and could not return on time because he "could not find transportation," and therefore personally he "did not have information on the situation in the zone."

This difficult discussion between the inhabitants and the governmental commission went on for 5 hours without a break. It was as painful as an open wound. Disruption threatened the discussion when, for example, the audience did not want to hear Ye. V. Kachalovskiy, first deputy chairman of the UkrSSR Council of Ministers. It broke into applause for Professor V. A. Knizhnikov, laboratory head at the Biophysics Institute, UkrSSR Academy of Sciences, when he compared people suffering from the Chernobyl accident to radiation specialists.

Nevertheless, the dialogue continued. To a great extent this was thanks to the principled position taken by G. A. Gotovchits, deputy chairman of the Oblispolkom and V. S. Budko, first secretary of the Narodichskiy Raykom. People in the "polluted rayons" still believe only them. They hopefully listened to the concluding speech by V. Kh. Doguzhiyev, chairman of the governmental commission on the emergency situation. He noted that the main task of the commission was to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. The government and the central committee are also concerned about this. Many problems have not been completely solved, or not solved at all. He noted: "I am surprised that normal information is lacking everywhere. Every day in each

populated point radiation data should be announced and posted in the main square. However, this is not being done."

The chairman of the commission promised those present that in a month and a half the commission will again meet with them at the same place. This will be to present a specific program to eliminate the consequences of the accident in these rayons. It will analyze and include all letters and statements that various authorities have received from the "zone." There will be changes in the criteria for evacuating people from areas under strict control, taking social and economic factors into account. During this time there should be solutions to questions about "clean" food, supplementary pay to workers, increases in leaves, pensions, etc.

When the governmental commission had left the hall I noted how one old grandmother noted their departure with a stealthy remark. A prayer came from her dry thin lips: "As long as I live, I hope..."

#### Officials Criticized for Treatment of Chernobyl Zone Inhabitants

18001628 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89  
Second Edition p 3

[Article by M. Odinets: "Echo from Chernobyl—The Watchword is Concern"]

[Text] Narodichi, Zhitomir Oblast—*This picturesque wooded town lies 170 kilometers from Kiev and 68 from the Chernobyl AES, the accident at which played such a dramatic role in its fate and the fate of other regions. If only the Pripyat had been evacuated the second day after the explosion, and Chernobyl and many villages near it a few days later, then only four settlements in the areas which received a huge amount of radiation would have had to be evacuated at the end of May 1986.*

In September of that same year 12 villages were put on strict radiation control, later another 18 were. Soon the cows were taken from the inhabitants of eight settlements as their milk contained radionuclides far in excess of allowable norms. Military units arriving from the Chernobyl zone did decontamination work, assuring people that there was no danger. This went on until 69 of 80 villages in the rayon were in the strict control zone and the USSR government decided to evacuate 12 villages. Later more were added. For example, in Khristinovka, Rudne-Ososhen, Nozdrishch and Shisakovka the radiation background is now 10-20 times the normal level. No, these are not emissions from the destroyed reactor in block 4 of the Chernobyl AES. There are none. These are traces from 1986.

**A shot not only from the past.** Valentin Semenovich Budko, first secretary of the Narodichi Raykom was the chairman of the rayispolkom that spring. He recalls that on the day after the accident at the AES, which was announced at the rayon center from neighboring Polesskiy Rayon in Kiev Oblast, a background radiation

measurement was taken near the raykom building. It showed a very high reading. When this was reported to Zhitomir there was no special response. Children were already taken from neighboring Polesskiy Rayon, located right near the Chernobyl AES. But in the Narodichi villages the evacuation of infants and school children was completed only on 6 June. The passivity, slowness and underestimation of the threat here during the first weeks after the accident made their mark on the entire subsequent period.

Now in Zhitomir and Kiev one can hear: It had not arrived at Narodichi then; the reactor was put out, covered up with sandbags and a roof built over it... However, even then they were thinking about where to take the evacuees. Housing was built for them in the southern regions of Kiev Oblast. There was also concern about the inhabitants of Narodichskiy Rayon villages contaminated by radiation. In that same summer it was decided to build them 170 small houses, including 50 in Narodichi, 20 each in Bazar, Sukharevka, Golubiyevichi, etc. The task, for which tens of millions of rubles were allocated, was solved in a great hurry. Many things were not well thought out, the main one being the lack of reliable data on radiation. Because of this, housing for evacuees from Dolgiy Les, Omelka and Motyla was built in contaminated areas. Thus, in Maliye Kleshchi, where 20 houses were built, radiation exceeds the allowable norms by a factor of 10 to 15. Now its new residents have to be evacuated a second time, as they are on the list of settlements which will be evacuated during 1989-1992.

In hearing inhabitants of the rayon center say how, 3 years after the accident, representatives of authorities from Zhitomir, Kiev and Moscow, health organizations and scientific research institutes have really deceived inhabitants of Narodichskiy Rayon, saying that there is nothing to fear, that the radiation situation is normal and calling upon them not to fall prey to radiation phobia, one thinks that it is a crime to treat people this way. Of course, its a pity about the millions of rubles the evacuated villages invested in constructing water systems, roads and various facilities that have now been abandoned. It is also sad to see the windows looking like empty eye sockets. But what sympathy everyone should have for people who have lived for more than 3 years in an area with increased radiation. There are the lulling speeches of irresponsible bureaucrats that can be understood only because they themselves did not know and comprehend the situation in Narodichskiy rayon. In any case they cannot be forgiven, for no matter what their motives they are based upon unreliable information and also on lies.

"Now, when we are being visited by representatives from Kiev and Moscow," says V. Korzhakovskiy, head of the surgery department at the rayon hospital, "and they begin to chatter about radiation phobia, to drop hints that things are not so bad, that our fears are exaggerated, people turn away; they do not want to listen."

People explain that the rayon is repeatedly visited by various research workers from the republic Ministry of Health and the Radiology Institute. They measure the dosages of radiation received by inhabitants in the rayon. However, glasnost has not affected these data; moreover, the information published about Narodichi puts accurate information in an incorrect light. Pelleren, the representative of the World Health Organization, who visited here, said that people in this zone should be constantly under qualified medical supervision. They need clean food. When this guest learned that some of the people were eating produce from their contaminated gardens, he was staggered.

In Narodichi I saw a photograph of a family foal born with two heads. There are clearly birth defects among domesticated animals. Last year there were about 180. Visiting scientists explain to the native population that this a matter of nitrates, breeding insufficiencies and inbreeding. However, people think that the reason is the 10 fold increase in the radiation level and ask: "Where is the guarantee that this will not occur here for 20-30 years?"

In Zhitomir and Kiev they are not reacting to citizens' numerous requests and letters to supply the inhabitants of Narodichskiy Rayon with clean products from other regions. At settlements with strict radiation control they pay a 25 percent markup and every month pay 30 rubles for "clean" food. But where can it be found, and for such money, a ruble a day? This takes place because the additional payment for clean food is established on the basis of hydrometeorological data on radioactive pollution of soil and air and not according to the level of pollution in food. Naturally, this creates a lot of dissatisfaction.

**Children with dosimeters.** The saddest impression I took from Narodichi was my visit to school. We came during recess. The children, as always during such times, were quite lively and noisy. However, this was not a cheerful thundering roar echoing through the corridors, but sort of a light competition among young voices. Looking closer, I saw a pallor in many childrens' faces. D. Kozinskiy, director of the local secondary school, told how during the parade for the start of school, three children fainted. The parade had 70 fewer children than last year, together with their parents they have left the rayon. The experienced pedagogue noted that the radiation situation in the rayon and the territory on which the school is located exceeds allowable norms in some places, in spite of deactivation. It has a negative effect upon the pupils. Some are hyperactive, while others are drowsy and ill at ease. Many complain about headaches and have difficulty assimilating new material.

Pediatrician L. Golenko noted that many children suffer from anemia, there are more frequent cases of poorer vision, lenticular opacity and cataracts. The main reason for these disorders is the increased radiation background. As regularly noted by the rayon newspaper *Zhovtnev Zori*, in the town it is 5-10 times higher than

the norm. This is compounded by the lack of high calorie foods and vitamins, juices, fruits and vegetables.

The school's teachers, gathered in the methodology office, frankly stated that because of the present situation the school should have been closed down a long time ago and the children taken out of Narodichi, for to let things go is to cripple them. In spite of medical workers' assertions, the school children show deteriorating capacity for work, passivity in the lessons and rapid fatigue. Because of the lack of equipment, it is not possible for school children to exercise vigorously. The physical education teacher explained that during the first race, held at the school a few days ago, many children collapsed from weakness. Requests to the oblast educational department to take the situation into consideration and curtail the cross country race got no response.

It is not easier for rural pupils and teachers. I. Melnik, teacher at the Latashevskiy Elementary School, explains, "For 3 years now we have been living in the zone for strict radiation control. We have become hostages. They say that our village is clean, but why do so many children suffer from previously unheard of illnesses? At one of the rural schools located not far from the office of Shlakh Lenina, 22 children showed up for the first day of class, this included 2 in the first grade, 3 in the second and 1 each in the third and fourth grades.

Last spring in Narodichi and in villages in the rayon children came to school with accumulators and dosimeters to measure radiation. There were many discussions and disputes about this. However, this research did not always reflect glasnost and informed and rational analysis. I was told that in the Narodichi Secondary School it was not generally known why the experiment was halted. Such things intensify disbelief in information which, even without this, is lacking in candor and objectivity.

From every part of Narodichi there are complaints by young mothers attempting to prevent their children, who already suffer from ailments, from getting more serious illness. The young family of V. Karas lives next to the rayon hospital. The radiation background here is high. Detectors shows that children have already received a substantial dosage and are chronically ill.

Attempts by local authorities to help them have not been successful. Neither has help to the mother of the sick sixth grader N. Grokh and many others.

**Where can one get away from radiation?** We sit in the building of the Velikiye Kleshchi Selsoviet and talk about the rapid evacuation of the village. Similar to the others, this building is deteriorating.

"Rapid, but not fast," comments Vladimir Fedorovich Zayets, chairman of the Selsoviet. "By 1 September families with children should have already evacuated, but it did not turn out the way we wanted."

All total, 1,460 families are leaving their homes of many years. One-tenth of them are relocating to new homes,

built for those forced to move; the remaining are going where they can. True, it is taking 3 years for the evacuation, or as they say here they are plucking us away, reminding one of wartime. However, during these years people have been exposed to increased danger from radiation. What more can be expected of them? For many the move is too difficult a task. Other than the minor exceptions already mentioned, unlike in 1986, today no houses are being built for those relocating from the zone of strict control. People are given compensation totalling 4,000 to 5,000 rubles and sometimes even 22,000 rubles, the amount received by P. Mikolaychuk, head of garage. He had a comfortable new house with farm outbuildings, a nice garden. He and his family received a good price for this. He went to work and received a home in Rostavits in Ruzhinskiy Rayon. Petr Fedorovich was disappointed, but Nikolay Kravchenko, a driver, is in complete disarray. He has a large family—father-in-law, mother-in-law, four children and a wife. Here they had 6 rooms, almost 2 houses. Where will they find such habitation, even though they received 30,000 rubles. Also, one member of the family is seriously ill. The children need different schools—elementary, eighth grade and secondary.

Nadezhda Iosifovna Otto, a pensioner, is tormented by doubts about her future. At one time she was a good milkmaid, valued at the farm. Now who will take her in? The money she received will not buy a good hut. The old lady is crying, the troubles at Chernobyl dealt her a painful blow.

P. Vorobey, a farm machinery operator brigade leader, shares his concerns with us. He also has a solid brick house and is sad to leave it. He does not know where he will settle. He went to Dzerzhinskiy and Lyubarskiy rayons but did not find anything.

We will have to wait it out, says one of the neighbors. The selsoviet chairman silently points to a dosimeter. The background radiation is five times higher than the norm.

"In Popelnyaskiy rayon," says A. Pidruchnyy, a kolkhoz chairman, they are supposed to build a housing tract for relocated people in the village of Lysovka. We need 200 houses there, but so far nobody knows if this will be done or not or even if a plan is being prepared. People would like to move together, in mass. But, because confusion reigns they are beginning to look for themselves. As you know we are always hurrying and afraid of radiation.

They have been talking and stirring up a fuss. The selsoviet chairman mentions that they were visited by kolkhoz managers from Lyubarskiy, Dzerzhinskiy and Ruzhinskiy rayons to select people. They questioned all machinery operators, milkers and specialists. People went there to look, but the houses offered were in bad shape or in remote, so-called futureless villages, where there are no schools or hospitals. The people from this wooded area do not want to flee to the southern regions. It is difficult to leave the beautiful forested nature they

have loved since childhood. Nobody wants to hear about pensioners, even though they make up almost half of those to be evacuated from the rayon.

The village received an inquiry from Vinkovetskiy Rayon, Khmelnitskiy Oblast. Papers had been processed at the party raykom, it looked like everything was in order, they wanted to help. However, once again, they were inviting machinery operators, construction workers, milkers and specialists to come, get housing and work...

Meetings and conversations with people in Narodichi and villages in the rayon gave me a feeling of serious concern and pain for the fate of people who had suffered so much from the Chernobyl accident. The people I talked to complained about the indifference of many who visited here from Moscow, Kiev and Zhitomir, about their hazy promises to look into things and their empty assurances, which brought no discernible results.

Narodichi today is our general pain and concern. While talk about Chernobyl has now been given second priority, first priority should be given to concern about this small town, to the villages which surround it, and about people who are in their fourth year of suffering. The atomic catastrophe continues for them.

#### Pamphlets Promoting Ethnic Unrest Found in Turkmenistan

18350029c Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 24 Jun 89 p 2

[Interview with B. Dovletov, chief of the Political Department of the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: "Rumors Are Clarified"]

[Text] Rumors have been spread through the city once again. Alarming, pointless rumors fill us with loathing everywhere, rumors in which truth is united with inconceivable fabrications. Even a simple street clash is being exaggerated into mass disorders, a national insult by a careless word. Streets suddenly become empty because of useless talk, and the voices of children fall silent in the squares and gardens.

Now we know that these rumors caused the tragic events in the Fergana valley and in Novyy Uzen. Thus the anxiety of the population in our republic's capital is fully comprehensible.

A Turkmeninform correspondent turned to B. Dovletov, chief of the political department of the Turkmen SSR MVD, with the question:

[Correspondent] Is there any basis for truth in these rumors, or are they total fabrications?

[Dovletov] In fact, rumors are spread about things which could never happen. They are not only being spread in Ashkhabad but also in other rayons of the republic. It is clear that workers in law enforcement organs cannot

simply disregard them. Now a special commission composed of internal affairs and procuracy workers has been established to examine the truth of these rumors. I have to say that most of the signals reaching us indicate that they are fabrications. For example, there was information on the theft of a study weapon from the military-sport specialized school in Ashkhabad. Our group went there, but were unable to confirm the rumor. The report that hooligans had attacked the Ovadan housing complex and broken windows was a lie. Even after the May riots it was said that they were not over. On 22 June they called us and said that an attack was being prepared on the No. 44 kindergarten. The operational group sent there found nothing suspicious. The kindergarten was working normally.

The rumors about the mass melee at the Vatan film theater, the riots in Lenin Square and the Central Culture and Recreation Park and others are in another category. A criminal investigation was instituted according to Article 72 of the Turkmen SSR Criminal Code on the factual basis of the fabrications in Ashkhabad; this article decrees that punitive action be taken against those spreading propaganda and agitation with the goal of inciting race or national hostility.

[Correspondent] But certainly there are some indisputable facts. For example, pamphlets advocating a worsening of interethnic relations were found in one of the buildings on Bamako Street.

[Dovletov] An investigation is being conducted on this. Although it is doubtful that one could call a typewritten page thrown into a mailbox a pamphlet, we are engaged in looking for the people who prepared them.

Certainly it would be irresponsible to deny that every rumor is without foundation. Bear in mind that no special importance was given to rumors that there would be riots in Ashkhabad and Nebitdag shortly before they occurred in May. Now the situation has changed. I will say once again: every piece of information received by law enforcement organs is being investigated.

[Correspondent] At this point we would say that the lack of militia action was one of the reasons for the hooliganistic disorders.

[Dovletov] Correct. Primarily, one can explain this by the unexpectedness of the event. Militia workers have no experience in acting in such situations. In addition, we have no special measures for combatting hooligans acting in concert. Now, you know that special branches of the internal affairs organs have been formed and that their members have been given basic instruction on performing their duty to maintain public order. If someone attempts to disturb the comfort of citizens, these efforts will be definitely prevented. The militia has the possibility to act within the framework of the law. Not one legal violator will escape punishment.

Although it is absurd, we have to prevent rumors from creating tension or causing people to lose faith.

I do not think that reason is superfluous. The strong traditions of internationalism and the good mutual relationship between representatives of all peoples and nationalities living here will continue. Thus, all of us should respect these feelings, and we must all be concerned to prevent irrational actions which lead to national enmity.

### Military Commissariat to Answer Queries in Turkmen

*18350027b Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 16 Jul 89 p 2*

[Letter from A. Veliyev, secretary, Mary Gorkom: "He Was Strongly Censured"]

[Text] In the 25 June 1989 issue of this newspaper an open letter from B. Sakhedov, director of SOVET TURKMENISTANY's military-patriotic education department, to Major V. A. Vepritskiy, Mary City Military Commissar, was published. This is the answer received from the party's Mary Gorkom:

"In answer to your open letter, the Mary Gorkom and the oblast military commissariat command apologizes for its neglect of information written in Turkmen in a republic press organ and for V. A. Vepritskiy's poor conduct.

On 27 June 1989 talks were held with V. A. Vepritskiy and S. Poritskiy, the oblast military commissar, at the party's gorkom. With the goal of preventing such awkward situations in corresponding with organizations on similar issues and in citizens' appeals to the military commissariat this letter is being discussed at all rayon and city commissariats.

V. A. Vepritskiy's conduct was discussed at a meeting of the oblast military commissariat. At this meeting he was given a warning and made responsible before the party. V. A. Vepritskiy admitted his mistake and explained that he had only worked in the military commissariat for a short time and had acted in accordance with regulations for the conduct of work in the armed forces [In accordance with an order from the USSR Ministry of Defense, correspondence within the armed forces may only be conducted in Russian].

*A. Veliyev, secretary, Mary Gorkom*"

**From the editor:** Kovus Charyyev of Ashkhabad and Annadurdy Bayramov of Mary wrote the editors criticizing the coarse, careless answer given to the editors by V. A. Vepritskiy, Mary City military commissar. Also, a number of people called up the editors and supported the open letter. This bears witness to the fact that glasnost and democracy are completely successful.

**Turkmen Reservists Neglected By Local Soviets**

*18350029b Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 13 Jun 89 p 2*

[Turkmeninform report: "In the Permanent Commissions of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Commission for Youth Affairs examined the question of the Chardzhou Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies supporting the work of young military reservists in their military-patriotic work among youth. It was noted that a significant amount of work is being done in the oblast in organizing military-patriotic education for youth and in preparing them for service in the Soviet Armed Forces in accordance with duties stemming from decrees of the 27th CPSU Congress and the party's 19th All-Union Conference. Questions of raising the level of military-patriotic education are being examined and resolved at permanent commissions of soviets of people's deputies and ispolkom meetings.

Young reservists, especially the internationalist-soldier youth who served in the Republic of Afghanistan, are making a great contribution to the spiritual and physical development of youth and to activating principles of communist morality and feelings of patriotism and socialist internationalism among them.

They are meeting with worker and student youth, and participating in running the "Bravery" lessons and the "Memorial" and "A Veteran Lives Alongside You" operations. They help as military consultants and organizers in holding sporting events and work as Pioneer leaders in military sports camps. They give a great deal of help in organizing the "Eagle" and "Dawn" games and provide leadership for elementary military preparation in schools. They are among the lecturers in DOSAAF organizations and supervise sections and circles for technical and military types of sports.

Ispolkom of soviets of people's deputies, Komsomol organs, military commissariats public organizations and workers' collectives take steps to create and strengthen the material-technical base for the physical and military preparation of youth and to organize military-patriotic clubs and organizations and the work of defense-sports camps.

Along with this, some soviets of people's deputies are not paying attention to preparing reservists to conduct a meaningful struggle for the restructuring of military-patriotic work, and do not interest themselves in this. The oblast soviet of people's deputies has not demonstrated that they are taking an interest in raising the activism of reservists. The work and problems of reservists are not being scrutinized at sessions of the ispolkom and permanent commissions or at their meetings.

The councils of reservist soldiers are finding it difficult to find a role for their strengths and potential and, in connection with this, need direction in their work. At the same time, ispolkom of soviets of people's deputies

have been unable to find a way to resolve this problem by establishing courses at the Chardzhou Pedagogical Institute.

There is no program in the oblast to attract reservist-soldiers into military-patriotic work more fully, nor is there one to create a foundation for organizations and clubs or for using a preexisting base.

Ispolkom of the soviets of people's deputies and peoples education organs are not paying enough attention to staffing the military training jobs at schools with cadres from the ranks of the reservists. At the pedagogical institute in Chardzhou candidates for military education posts are not being selected from among them. Questions of using young reservists to create teams and sections for technical and military-practical types of sports are being resolved poorly.

Soviet of people's deputies ispolkom, peoples education organs and military commissariats are not developing the skills of military departments for military-sports camps and schools, they are not giving existing facilities in military departments to military-patriotic education work and they are not resolving questions of organizing military sports training camps. Reservists' councils, military-patriotic organizations and clubs are not in close cooperation with war and labor veterans' councils in providing military-patriotic education to youth; the work of providing military-patriotic education to work is primarily confined to physical education.

A decree relevant to the question examined was passed. Progress made in implementing earlier decrees was discussed.

**Turkmen Consumer Goods Shortages Discussed**

*18350026c*

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 30 July 1989 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,600 word interview with Nyyazgylch Nurylyjov, chairman of the Presidium of the Turkmenistan Consumers Union, headlined "We Are Concealing Nothing From The People" in which he discusses the impact of the consumer goods shortages on the population in response to a number of consumer complaints. "It is no secret that in recent years there has been a significant reduction in the number of goods available on the shelves of stores and that even goods which had been available in quantity a year ago are now quite scarce." He points out that "the present crisis situation in the economy and in supply has complicated the duties [of the Consumers Union]. But, to tell the truth, our supplies are considerably better than those in some other regions of the country." He adds that soap and detergents, for example, are not rationed as in other parts of the USSR. The interviewer notes that despite the absence of rationing, readers have complained that all kinds of soaps and detergents, shampoo, sugar and high grade flour "have turned into rarities." Nurylyjov responded that supplies of these goods are the same as last year; the

critical factor, he adds, is "consumer psychology" by which he means hoarding. Consumer complaints have also targeted shortages of electrical goods and building supplies, such as lumber and bricks. In response to the lumber shortage, Nuryglyyov points out that "47 train-loads" of wood products have already been received from Khabarovsk Oblast" and that it is planned to establish small brick manufacturing facilities in "distant villages."

#### Aftermath of Uzbek Kolkhoz Interethnic Disturbance

18300787a *Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
29 Jul 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Restore Neighborly Relations"]

[Text] As previously reported, a conflict occurred at the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Gulistanskiy Rayon, Syr-Darya Oblast, on 23 July. As a result, two people of the local nationality were seriously injured. In spite of all steps taken by doctors at the republic hospital, one of them passed away on the night of 27 July.

As a result, a tense situation has taken shape in the kolkhoz kishlaks and a number of nearby farms and rayons. For the purpose of halting provocative rumors and averting possible disturbances, active explanatory and organizational work is being done by party and soviet agencies of the oblast, with the participation of leading republic officials. Talks were held at meeting halls and directly in residential buildings with people of both nationalities. At areas of tension, duties were organized for people's patrols, consisting of both communists and Komsomol members from local organizations, as well as activists from neighboring rayons in the oblast. Forces for ensuring public order have been reinforced. Curfew was not introduced anywhere.

The population was informed in detail of the measures taken by the law enforcement agencies to investigate the causes and reveal the instigators and participants in the incident. Criminal proceedings have been instituted on facts of illegal activities and an investigation is being done.

Meetings of communists, the economic aktiv, and youth and veterans of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin were held, at which the address from the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee, UzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and UzSSR Council of Ministers was decisively supported. Their participants, in the name of representatives of all nationalities living and working at the kolkhoz, expressed regret over the incident, assured the republic leadership that they will ensure peace and public order through their own efforts, and pledged to take all steps to restore normal neighborly relations.

During the talks and meetings with the working people, questions about economic and social development, raising the standard of living, and improving services

and utilities for settlements were discussed. The resolutions of meetings held on these days by the oblast's party and economic aktiv concerning the development of citizens' private auxiliary farms and individual housing construction were received with great interest and approval. Practical steps were taken to complete the provision of gas and telephone lines for individual housing blocks for the Kirovskiy Kishlak Soviet, in whose territory the kolkhoz is located.

The situation in the kolkhoz, rayon and oblast, although characterized by some tension, is entirely under the control of the local authorities. The normal work routine is being maintained in the enterprises and farms, and all systems in the service sphere are operating.

#### UzSSR: Bekabad Transit Workers Strike Over Pay, Conditions

18300787b *Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
21 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by M. Kim: "Strike by Drivers of Two Auto Columns at Bekabad Auto Transport Enterprise Lasts 7 Hours"]

[Text] 19 July, 7:00 AM, rush hour: taxis and trains, overburdened with passengers, are scurrying about and occasionally an intercity Ikarus sails by. There are increasingly more people at the stops, but no bus can be seen. Finally, one rolls up, obviously a "leftist." "Route 5," explains the driver, and the crowd rushes through the folding doors. They are hanging onto the running boards, and in the salon there is a whisper: "The drivers are striking..."

At that time, S. Vasilenko, republic first deputy minister of auto and railway transportation, E. Ruzyyev, first secretary of the Bekabad Party Gorkom, D. Kariyev, gorispolkom chairman, and S. Rakhmatullayev, head of the Tashoblpasstrans Association, arrived at the Bekabad ATP to meet the drivers who refused to go out on their routes.

The people expressed everything that was troubling them: the low salary, high plan, damaged roads, worn-out equipment, shortage of spare parts, and the absence of elementary facilities—toilets, stops for nourishment... However, the main theme of the sharp discussion was not so much the problems themselves, as the fact that no change was foreseen.

Over the past year at the auto enterprise, which usually upsets the plans, the average salary for bus drivers decreased by 30 rubles, and for taxi drivers—by 22. Per ruble of income, 31 kopeks goes into the driver's salary—9 kopeks less than in Chirchik, Angren, or Almalyk. Why?

"Many of the drivers' demands are fair," said the party gorkom first secretary. "That is why it is possible, if not to justify, at least to understand their actions. The technical equipment of the enterprise is extremely poor.

Tashoblpasstrans promised new vehicles back in the first quarter, but did not keep its word. To make up for it, they did remember to 'reduce' the shift plan for taxi drivers by 55 rubles, although this figure is less than 47 in the oblast. Due to the bad condition of our roads, there are frequent breakdowns and, with them, idleness: after all, there are no spare parts either... At the next gorkom buro meeting, we will look for ways to solve the problems at the complex."

Three groups were created here, at the meeting, headed by the gorispolkom deputy chairman, and the head and the main engineer of "Tashoblpasstrans." They were instructed to examine the problems of salary, cadres, planning, technical equipment and housing. Holding elections for the column heads was proposed.

An agreement was made with the drivers: they would single out trusted representatives, but would go back to work themselves so that thousands of citizens who, after all, were guilty of nothing, would not suffer.

The drivers did this. The seven representatives started working in the groups, and by 14:00 the buses had returned to their routes.

#### **Maj Gen Zakharov Seeks to Calm Rumors on Death of Uzbek Soldier**

90UM0051 *Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS*  
*UZBEKISTANA* in Russian 7 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with Major General A.I. Zakharov, member of the Military Council, chief of Political Administration of the Red-Banner Turkestan Military District, by UzTAG correspondent: "The Truth Which Hurts"]

[Text]

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Imametdinovich, it is with a lot of emotional pain that we have asked you for this interview. Rumors circulate to the effect that in the Armed Forces the killings of Uzbek soldiers were caused by the "anti-Uzbek campaign" in the press following the Fergana events.

[Zakharov] I must state with complete responsibility: The facts provide no foundation for such a conclusion. As far as the rumors go, they are spread by certain circles which try to fuel ethnic discord in this manner.

[Correspondent] You have mentioned facts.

[Zakharov] First, about the problem on the whole. Unfortunately, people are mortal both in "civilian life" and in the army. We also have diseases, accidents, and—I would not conceal this—crime.

Therefore, the facts. Believe me, I am ashamed to give them. For 33 years, I have been within the army cadres, and I have seen a lot of blood and death, particularly in Afghanistan... Here I am, forced for the first time to "segregate" the bodies of soldiers by ethnicity. It is painful and frightening to be involved in this unworthy

business. Every soldier is our son, and the death of every soldier is a loss to the entire people. I understand that it is cruel to rub salt into the emotional wounds of fathers and mothers by statistical data next to fresh graves. However, what can we do—we are being forced to do so.

We have compared data on the number of draftees from Uzbekistan who died while serving in the USSR Armed Forces in the [first] 9 months of 1989 with the same data for 1988, and there have been no changes. Any growth of the death rate among our draftees in the army is out of the question. Therefore, there are no additional causes of death at all. We have studied separately the statistics of death rate among draftees from Fergana Oblast over the last 4 years. I must say that this number is going down steadily. At present, it is almost 1.5 times lower than in 1986.

We have analyzed another aspect as well, in our, Turkestan District. From the beginning of the year, a certain number of soldiers have died here (I am naming them in the descending order of numbers): Russians, Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and other nationalities. The causes vary—disease, electrocution, carbon monoxide poisoning, traffic accidents, careless handling of weapons, and other. However, there has not been a single case of violent death.

[Correspondent] What does the careless handling of weapons amount to?

[Zakharov] Most frequently, this is what happens. While on guard duty, a soldier should not unnecessarily put the round in the chamber of his weapon. However, the soldier, especially if young and inexperienced, is nervous, and pulls back the bolt just in case. Later, when clearing his weapon, he disengages the magazine having forgotten about the round left in the chamber... A shot may occur from which someone next to this soldier suffers rather than the soldier himself. This is how Private T. was killed by his friend Private Kh. Both of them are Uzbeks. I am not naming names because the young man who has died cannot be brought back. As far as the one who has carelessly allowed the fateful shot to occur is concerned, we do not have to explain how traumatized he is, how horrible he feels. After all, he has yet to face a military tribunal and criminal charges. Of course, the officers who did not ensure the proper performance of guard duty have also been punished severely.

[Correspondent] How can a person be killed by electrical current?

[Zakharov] If you mean Private Ilkhomdzhan N., he decided to shorten his way by cutting through a heavily guarded zone surrounded by an electrified fence as he was returning from his AWOL. Hence the tragic result.

[Correspondent] The first and last names of this young man have been placed on the list circulating in the city which I can also see on your desk.

[Zakharov] We have checked every line of this list. Judge the quality and objectives of this document for yourself. Mamazhon Saidbayev from Namangan is named among those "given a medical discharge as a result of beatings." He has not been given a discharge; he is still in the service. The problem is that he had not been writing letters home. The commanders talked to him asking to stop making his relatives nervous and behave like a son ought to. Incidentally, Mamazhon's brother has also been drafted now from the same family. He is also doing all right.

Another person "given a medical discharge as a result of beatings"—Takhir Madinov from Namangan. A man with this name has never served in the military unit indicated by the "informals." He is not registered at the home address given by them either...

[Correspondent] However, there are also authentic facts in there, including non-regulation relations in the army.

[Zakharov] Yes, there are. However, the facts have been by and large compiled in a biased manner, e.g., on the death of Private Akhrordzhan T. who was serving in one of the military districts due to the head-and-skull injury. The "informal" list keeps silent about the fact that criminal charges have been filed against the squad commander Pivovarov who hit the soldier, that he is being investigated, that the unit commander has been convicted by the officers' court of honor, relieved of command, and his discharge from the Armed Forces is pending... Many such examples of distorting the actual state of affairs may be given.

Indeed, non-regulation relations are a painful problem for the army. However, see this: This is a fresh report on such a case in our district. It is addressed to the minister of defense and the chief of the Main Political Administration. It is signed by the troops commander and me, a member of the Military Council and head of the Political Administration of the district. The level itself shows the frequency of such cases. If this were a mass phenomenon neither the minister nor us would have any time to give attention to service.

As far as the case in question is concerned, as you can see, direct culprits were not punished only at the request of the father of the soldier whom they have wronged; the father was invited to the unit. Despite this, a number of commanders and chiefs, from deputy battalion commander to the large unit commander, have been severely punished.

The issue of non-regulation relations is not simple, primarily because it is brought to the army ready-made from "civilian life." Responding to our questionnaire, 80 percent of the soldiers polled who have graduated from vocational technical schools stated that there was the mistreatment of juniors by seniors in their schools, and 50 percent—that there were beatings and extortion there. After all, graduates of vocational technical schools account for more than a quarter of our replenishment. You, the press, write about increases in youth crime. As

far as the army is concerned, this means that the share of individuals who have previously committed a crime among the draftees is increasing. You write about the issue of job placement: For the army, this means that 10 percent of draftees have not worked anywhere yet. In recent years, many such factors have appeared which complicate the political and indoctrination work with the troops.

Nonetheless, a trend has now emerged toward a decrease in crime in the units of our district and in the Armed Forces as a whole. This gives us hope: It means that the commanders and political officers of the army realize the complexity of new tasks and are applying themselves in order to accomplish them. This means that the army has been and remains a school of life for our young people—the role of which at present is as great as ever.

[Correspondent] Comrade General! You are one of those who have lived through the Afghan war, a tragic one for our people. Tell us how the citizens of Uzbekistan showed themselves there.

[Zakharov] Over there, we did not look at what nationality one was. I have already said that I feel awkward due to the very manner in which the question is put. Still, as I recall what happened, I will say that the awards did not rain from the sky. They were given for courage and proficiency in combat, for the sweat and blood of soldiers, for being faithful to the oath. Tens and hundreds of Uzbek soldiers came home decorated with medals and orders, including the highest awards of the USSR.

At this time, thousands of Uzbek young men serve in the units of the Turkestan Military District. They serve honestly, diligently, and skillfully. These thousands are the children of the people, the people itself, its future. The army is grateful to them and their parents who have brought up a worthy replenishment of defenders of the motherland.

#### Turkmen Official on USSR-Iran Trade Agreement 18350029a Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 4 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Khan Akhmedov, first deputy chairman Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers: "Good Neighborliness"]

[Text] The Soviet Union is not only connected with the Islamic Republic of Iran by means of a border 2.5 thousand kilometers long, but also through traditional good neighborly relations. These relations have taken on a new force after an exchange of letters between Imam Khomeini, the spiritual and political leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Economic and trade relations between the USSR and Iran have been strengthened. This became especially clear during the 11-18 May Tehran meeting between N. S. Konarev and M. D. Irvan, the chairman of the

national departments of the permanent commission for economic cooperation between the USSR and the IRI. Khan Akhmedov, first deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, also took part in the work of this commission as part of the Soviet delegation.

[Question] Khan Akhmedovich, what kind of duties stand before participants in the permanent commission for economic cooperation between the USSR and Iran?

[Akhmedov] Primarily, the duty to strengthen trade and economic relations at all levels. The fact that members of the Soviet delegation held meetings with the leadership of nine ministries of the Islamic Republic of Iran demonstrates the scope and range of their mutual interests.

Among the questions under discussion by members of the permanent commission of both countries are the building of plants for reprocessing agricultural and animal products, building installations to transport water from one region to another, and cooperation and exchanging experiences in fighting against the aridification of lands, irrigating pasture lands and developing the best grades of grain and cotton. Questions such as combatting insects and diseases harmful to crops, fighting against flooding and the fishing industry were also examined.

In the course of meetings with Iranian specialists we came to the conclusion that, based on mutual experience and expertise, it would be especially easy to resolve many questions on the basis of usefulness and equality for each of us.

A commission of experts from both countries have drawn up plans for a number of agreements on economic cooperation between our countries. We hope that Khasemi Rafsanjani, head of the majlis of the Islamic Republic of Iran, will sign these agreements in the course of the talks he will be conducting with M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the time of his June visit to the USSR.

[Question] You represented Turkmenistan during the Tehran talks. In what direction do you see relations developing between these two republics which are situated on both sides of Kopetdag?

[Akhmedov] Above all, the most interesting issue is the building of the Mashhad-Saragt-Tejen railroad. In the draft agreement both sides are to implement the necessary measures on their own territories for the construction of tracks and highways between the Tejen - Saragt and the Soviet-Iranian border, and Mashhad - Saragt and the Iranian-Soviet border.

At Iran's request, the USSR will provide Iran with the necessary technical aid to implement the project for railroad construction on its own territory on the basis of the agreement and will supply it with certain materials and equipment as well. Subsequently, there will be an

agreement on the time frame, scope and conditions of this cooperation signed by competent organs of both countries.

[Question] As is well known, the sources of the Tejen, Atrek and Sumbar rivers, which provide water for agricultural lands in Turkmenistan, emanate from Iran. During the Spring rains the waters of these rivers rise significantly and a substantial part of them is being lost. In view of this situation, is the building of water reservoirs under consideration?

[Akhmedov] During dry years the waters of these rivers fall off. When there are heavy rains part of this valuable water is absorbed into the steppe. Thus, it has been considered worthwhile to examine the question of building a reservoir in a place called Chad on the border. With the help of this reservoir we can satisfy the thirst for thousands of hectares of land in the subtropical zone of both sides of the Soviet-Iranian border.

A group of Iranian specialists examined this question when they were in Turkmenistan. They also studied the question of building a reservoir in Pulkhat on the Tejen River. Such contacts have not only been set in motion among reservoir specialists, but also among geologists and drilling specialists. A delegation from Iran's national oil company came to Turkmenistan and held fruitful talks with specialists from the Turkmengeologiya scientific-production organization. Representatives of both sides came to the general conclusion that careful geological exploration for oil and gas in certain areas on the Turkmen-Iranian border should be done so that its oil and gas wealth could be determined.

Abbas Afshar, head of the delegation, said that new areas would emerge as a result of determining the oil and gas situation of these and other rayons and that this would serve each other's mutual interests and to increase the wealth of both countries.

At the same time, a team of specialists headed by Bayram Myradov, deputy chief of the Turkmengazprom, group was in the Islamic Republic of Iran. At the invitation of Iran's oil company Turkmen specialists in the Soviet geological delegation studied the possibilities of drilling wells during their two weeks in this country. They gave the area called "Assalus" in Pars province special attention.

Along with this a protocol was signed. According to this agreement Turkmen specialists with great experience in very complex geological structures and in drilling will come to this country shortly to help Iranian specialists.

[Question] Khan Akhmedovich, should one attach any great importance to cross-border trade between the two countries?

[Akhmedov] In the course of the talks both sides suggested the developing and broadening of working relationships and cross-border trade between

organizations, companies and cooperatives of the appropriate union republics of the USSR and provinces of Iran in the border area.

Iran's Khorasan Province is one of the provinces bordering our republic. We have already discussed opening an Iranian store in Ashkhabad this year. It would offer the Turkmen consumer agricultural goods and industrial products produced in Iran.

We would also open a store in Mashhad, the major city of Khorasan. The Iranian side expressed a great interest in products manufactured in Turkmen plants and factories: mineral fertilizers, construction materials, dough kneading machinery, gas ranges and kerosene-driven ventilators.

It demonstrates clearly that the amount of trade between Turkmenistan and Khorasan will reach several million rubles in turnover this year.

At the end of May another delegation headed by M. Mogaddes'yan, advisor to the deputy Minister of Roads and Transport of Iran, came to Ashkhabad. Mr. Gazizade, a deputy in Iran's majlis was also in the delegation along with experts in Iran's rail transport.

At this point we should mention that his electoral district is located in the Saragt section of Iran. Members of the delegation went to take a look at Tejen and Saragt together with a group of Soviet specialists. They acquainted themselves with the conditions for the construction of the Tejen - Saragt - Mashhad railroad and highway.

The deputy of Iran's majlis said that he was very interested in developing cross-border trade. He met with leaders of the republic's Ministry of Trade, State Agro-industrial Committee and Turkmenistan Consumers Union and discussed matters of interest to him, toured one of the kolkhozes and examined commercial buildings.

We received an invitation to send our own delegation to Mashhad. Specialists from the republic Ministry of Trade, Turkmenpotrebsovuz and the foreign trade organization of Turkmenintorg will be included in the delegation.

[Question] How was the work of the bipartite commission for economic cooperation between our countries viewed in Iran?

[Akhmedov] One can state openly that the work of the commission received a positive evaluation. Mir Khosseyn Musavi, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, said "In the future we will turn our borders with Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan into a border of friendship of our peoples."

The head of the Iranian government gave special stress to the development of cross-border trade and noted the great possibilities which exist in this area.

Along with this Mir Khosseyn Musavi said that some of our organizations were dragging their feet in resolving a number of questions. In the course of the visit to the USSR of Khashem Rafsanjani, the chairman of Iran's majlis, and his meetings with M. S. Gorbachev, he said that trade and economic relations between the two countries will reach a high level. The examination of questions like the construction and reconstruction of metallurgy factories, hydroelectric and fuel driven electric stations, building reservoirs and the railroad, and the study of the problems of outer space are being planned.

After many years of stagnation relations between the Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic of Iran are improving. This gladdens the people of both countries. When we were in Tehran and Isfahan we felt that the Iranians viewed us with sympathy and good intentions. We knew that they wanted relations between the USSR and the IRI to be constructive and mutually rewarding.

#### Perestroyka Dependent on Direct Republic Foreign Economic Ties

18250190z Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
15 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by T. Manasaryan, candidate of economic sciences, senior research associate of the Armenian Branch of the USSR Gosplan Scientific Institute of Planning and Standards: "Perestroyka and Foreign Economic Ties"]

[Text]

#### Armenian SSR Within the Framework of USSR's Foreign Economic Ties.

The restructuring of foreign economic ties represents an important direction and a necessary prerequisite for successfully accomplishing the restructuring of our country's national economy. It relies, to a significant extent, on the study and utilization, whenever possible, of the experience accumulated by the leading industrially advanced countries of the world. This was repeatedly reiterated at the Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The growing demands made by the people and the material production, the internationalisation of economic life, the increasing interdependence and cross influence of the national economies of the countries of the socialist community, and structural shifts accompanying present-day scientific and technological progress have predetermined higher demands put on foreign economic ties and economic strategy in the field, and a new approach towards them as a branch of the national economy.

The Armenian SSR is making a contribution of its own towards perfecting and developing the entire system of the USSR's foreign economic ties. In 1988, its 91 enterprises manufactured and supplied export goods. They shipped 110 types of goods to 63 countries of the world.

Its total exports amounted to 134 million rubles, or 1.5 percent of the overall volume of industrial output.

Within the export structure, machine-building accounts for 45 percent; the chemical, ferrous and nonferrous industry, 18 percent; light industry, 13 percent; the food industry, 14 percent; and other industries, 10 percent.

The decrees adopted by the Party and government, especially the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Further Developing Foreign Economic Activity of State, Cooperative and Other Public Enterprises, Associations and Organizations", and the decree passed by the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures of State Regulation of Foreign Economic Activities", have enabled the Republic to upgrade its foreign economic ties. We believe that a successful implementation of the decrees depends to a large extent on broadening the rights enjoyed by the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR in issuing licenses for the export and import of goods (jobs and services).

The overseas Armenian communities have stepped up their activities. Their representatives provide monetary and financial assistance which is used in construction, equipment of outpatient clinics, children's homes, kindergartens, schools, and in rebuilding the destroyed towns and villages and starting joint ventures. Investments are made on easy terms in developing Armenian industry and establishing free enterprise zones in its territory. The creation of free enterprise zones in the Republic's territory can significantly stimulate the inflow of foreign currency, boost exports and help create competitive products, which in turn will satisfy the internal demand in the country for industrial and food products.

#### **Increasing Competitiveness of Products**

The decree passed by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Radically Raise Quality of Products", says that the associations, enterprises and organizations should bear full responsibility for the quality of products, their competitiveness on the world market and the compliance of the new items and materials to the most stringent requirements demanded by scientific and technological progress. In fact, better technical and economic features of the products actually influence its competitiveness, which encompasses a gamut of characteristics determining the expenses incurred by a foreign consumer and which make it possible to sell them on a specific market. It should be realized that it is impossible and economically inexpedient to simultaneously raise the competitiveness of all important types of products manufactured in the Republic's territory up to world standards. The problem should be resolved stage by stage to achieve these goals. To accomplish this, the most important types of products should be selected at the first stage, whose competitiveness should be raised first. This list should include the items under control of the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR State Planning

Committee, as well as the products crucial for the Republic as a whole. Given such a list, it will be required first of all to limit the number of industrial goods under consideration, drawing on experts' competent opinion. As initial information, one should consider the list that includes the most important goods approved by the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR (what is meant is the list of the finished goods only). This list can be curtailed on this basis by asking the opinion of the respective specialists at the ministries and agencies and at branch institutes.

Two ways are available in the main for raising the competitiveness (or at least the exportability) of the most important goods of the highest quality turned out by the Republic's industry - by perfecting the economic accountability mechanism at the existing enterprises and by starting joint enterprises. The second way looks the most effective and feasible today. The establishment of joint enterprises falls in the mainstream of the ongoing radical economic reform and is intended to accomplish the following major tasks: increase the competitiveness (exportability) of the domestic goods and successfully sell them on the internal market; promote a stable internal market for goods and services; satisfy the solvent demand of the Republic's population for industrial goods and food products; locate the labor resources in a rational manner; provide full employment drawing on the scientific potential accumulated by the Republic; improve the monetary, currency, credit and financial mechanisms; and enable the Republic to balance its foreign currency budget.

The effective solution of the mentioned and other related problems requires an overhaul of the present foreign currency mechanism as well as of the monetary and economic policies.

#### **Currency Mechanism and Currency-Economic Policy**

The currency mechanism of the country and of the Union Republics creates many difficulties in enabling the economy to operate effectively and make the enterprises enter the foreign market. Differentiated currency rates, which should be abandoned, present one such difficulty. This can be done on the basis of the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers No. 1405 making it possible to receive foreign currency as it comes from a foreign buyer, and not at the end of the year, as it was done before.

To stabilize the currency mechanism, which is necessary to provide continuity of the production and consumption processes and to help the government in conducting an effective internal and external foreign economic policy, some of its directions should be changed. In particular, it appears expedient to replace the policy of allocating foreign currency reserves with one of extending foreign currency loans. It is important for the enterprises to be able to pay foreign currency loans not only through currency funds but also through foreign

currency earnings. The policy of extending foreign currency loans will bring about the circulation of foreign currency in addition to the monetary circulation and will gradually facilitate the transition towards the expanded regeneration of foreign currency reserves. This will smooth over the economic life of the Republic, while the economic impact on the national economy will be both considerable and ever growing, which is typical of any type of industrial investments. We believe that in this way the Republic will be in a position to redistribute justifiably and utilize effectively the foreign currency reserves available to it.

The restructuring of the banking system is called upon to play an important role in improving foreign economic ties and increasing their positive influence on the Republic's economy.

#### Restructuring Banking System

Recent experience has shown that the existing banking system does not serve the foreign economic ties of the regions effectively enough. The Armenian branch of the Vnesheconombank (formerly Vneshtorgbank) extends foreign trade loans and makes export and import settlement payments. The limited character of the present functions as well as a timely solution of a number of complicated questions involved in foreign economic ties call for the establishment of new commercial banks. The experience of such foreign banks makes it possible to assume that they can become, in fact, shareholders, the Republic's economic organs capable of promoting cooperation in extending loans and executing factoring operations.

A cooperative bank that will include a joint ownership by the state and a stock owner can contribute tangibly to the solution of regional economic problems. We believe that it makes sense to start with one or two new banks, considering specific regional conditions and the degree to which these banks correspond to the solution of particular economic problems and also difficulties involved in organizing them. Irrespective of structural and functional distinctions, they are united in their common goal of receiving foreign hard currency.

Under the new economic conditions, the Vnesheconombank will see its role enhanced, since it has the right to organize currency auctions, the currency market where the currency earned from foreign buyers can be spent, to freely exchange foreign currency reserves, to buy and sell these reserves with Soviet rubles and to establish real currency exchange rates.

Operating within a single monetary and credit system of the country, these banks will be able in the future to concentrate in their hands and move around available currency reserves through loans. Starting just as brokers, they will evolve to become powerful financial institutions participating in financing the construction of

important projects, a fact mentioned during the September Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. To achieve this, it will be necessary to strengthen banks's ties with major industrial enterprises in the Republic involved in foreign economic activity, and also with the banks and financial institutions in other countries and with major international organizations.

Therefore, the restructuring of the present banking system and the establishment of new banks are intended to promote the Republic's foreign economic ties and to solve important social and economic problems associated with the economy of the Armenian SSR.

#### Foreign Economic Ties and Problems of the Republic's Mountainous Regions

The development of such forms of foreign economic activity as scientific, production and technical cooperation and the establishment of joint enterprises and free enterprise zones can be targeted to solve such pressing problems facing the mountainous regions of the Republic as the unsatisfactory solution of the social, economic, cultural and everyday problems, unfavorable road and transport conditions, ineffective material and technical supplies, underemployment ( which results in the migration of the local labor force and the depopulation of entire villages).

Considering the current trends in the world economy and the specific conditions of mountain regions, it appears most expedient to start modern specialized small and medium-sized joint ventures. They will be able to make a fuller account of the local material, labor and financial and foreign currency resources, on the one hand, and the general and specific demands of individual markets for competitive products, on the other. As far as the Republic's mountainous regions are concerned, these include the manufacture of machinery and equipment for mountainous farming, output of products in the field of the renewable sources of energy and also national folk crafts, some types of Armenian food products which can be in high demand in overseas markets.

The solution of the above-mentioned and other problems associated with the economy of the mountainous regions can have a salutary effect on the economic life of the Republic as a whole.

Therefore, further development of the foreign economic relations is determined by many factors, first of all, by the establishment of an effective foreign currency mechanism, the restructuring of banking, increasing the competitiveness ( exportability) of finished products, the dynamics of economic development and the achieved level in the development of the export potential of the Republic.

An increased effectiveness of activities in the areas mentioned calls for the need to develop and deepen the methodological and practical aspects of these problems.

A practical solution of the tasks in the field of foreign economic ties requires new approaches in organizing and planning these activities.

### **Greek Autonomous Republic Proposed**

*18120001 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38, 24 Sep 89 p 11*

[Text] MOSCOW NEWS analyst Lyudmila Yenyutina talks with people's deputy of the USSR, co-chairman of the inter-regional group of deputies, editor of the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI Gavriil Popov.

[Yenyutina] I was surprised to learn that, in addition to all your duties, you've also agreed to head the Society of Soviet Greeks. You must have a lot of spare time!

[Popov] No, I accepted the position primarily because of guilt feelings about my own people. I come from the stock of Mariupol Greeks who have been living for nearly two and a half thousand years on what is today Soviet territory. I don't speak Greek. Like millions of Soviets, I believed for many years that ethnic problems were a wrong which we would soon correct, and would then live, in Mayakovskiy's words, "in a single world, without Russians and Latvians, in one single human society".

What is most important is my conviction that a socialist society can't be built if it's not for the benefit of the human being, the individual. A person is an individual when all his/her best national traits are allowed to thrive. For this reason, I think, one of the pillars of perestroika is the policy that encourages a comprehensive development of all nationalities in this country.

[Yenyutina] It's a shame my education taught me more about the history, culture and art of ancient and modern Greece than about Greeks who live in my own country. Only recently I read with great interest about Russia's foreign minister during the reign of Alexander I, Ioannis Kapodistrias. The latter became the first president of a rebellious Greece. And Alexandros Ypsilantis who fought in the 1812 war. Neither was I aware that the tractor driver, Pasha Angelina, a famous name in the Soviet history, was Greek. How do Soviet Greeks live today? Or rather what makes their life difficult?

[Popov] Perhaps the same thing that is making life difficult for all Soviets.

The obsolete economic structure in Soviet society, the obsolete political superstructure built on the administer-and-command system. So, broadly speaking, we're all facing the same problems.

Greeks, of course, have their own specific problems which stem from the fact that they are among nations that were subjected to especially harsh repressions, especially harsh even for Stalin's system.

[Yenyutina] What was special about this harshness?

[Popov] The fact that all Greeks, young and old, were deported, unlike in Russia where only a considerable part of peasants (the kulaks) were deported. It was sudden, with no reasons given. Shortly before the war, Greek autonomy was scrapped, Greek schools, publishing houses and printing shops were closed. A considerable part of their intellectuals were repressed. Then Greeks were deported from the Crimea, Sukhumi and the entire Black Sea area.

[Yenyutina] How many Greeks are there in this country today?

[Popov] Generally speaking, you can't depend on the official census figures for the number of peoples repressed or discriminated against—Greeks, Germans or Jews. These figures must be higher. According to formal count, there are nearly 400,000 Greeks in the USSR, but actually it is nearly one million, counting children from mixed marriages. Greek communities are scattered, their traditions and even languages are different. I've already mentioned the Mariupol community in the Ukraine. My fellow Greeks also live in the Crimea, the Caucasus, the Krasnodar and Stavropol Territories. After their deportation Greeks formed communities in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Siberia.

[Yenyutina] The final document of your founding meeting calls for restoring the Greek national autonomies. I know that even some Greeks fear the call might harm relations with some local populations.

[Popov] Given the controversies of our life, these fears are real. On the one hand, the setting up of a state and administrative national formation is the most acceptable way to solve ethnic problems. It's a shame that a Greek, or a person of any other nationality for this matter, can't send his child to school where the instruction is in his own language or where he at least can learn the native language, or to go to a community center or see a play in Greek.

On the other hand, living side by side with Greeks are other working people just like them. Are they to blame if, after the deportation of Greeks, they remained the only masters in those areas or moved to the vacated village? To blame these people would mean to sow seeds of future troubles for your own people. This is shortsighted at the least. We should look for compromise solutions. National formations can only be created where conditions for that are ripe, where there is mutual understanding, where agreement can be reached today. Or we should have a plan for a stage by stage movement.

Take, for example, the Mariupol Region where I was born. The Greek population there is 100,000. Greek villages are rather isolated and compact, which is quite sufficient for creating an autonomous region. But Greeks are a minority in Mariupol which is the historical center of the Greek community. What's to be done? I think there should be a flexible approach. Moscow and Kiev, for example, aren't parts of the corresponding regions

while all the bodies of regional administration are headquartered in these cities. Greek autonomy bodies can be headquartered in Mariupol, while it remains outside the autonomy.

I think, we should make the maximal use of the ideas contained in the CPSU draft platform on its national policy and its section about the need for national village Soviets, national districts and regions.

The solution of the "Greek problem" in the USSR would not only be important in precluding Greeks leaving for other countries but also in having good relations with Greece and the millions of Greeks who live outside it and play a big role in the life of various countries. For instance, Michael Dukakis, who recently ran for U.S. president.

The general model for "Greek autonomy" we ponder, I think, could be of interest also for other nations scattered around other territories.

[Yenyutina] What is your model?

[Popov] I would think it would be fruitful to consider the setting up of a Greek Autonomous Republic of a special sort. It would not have single territory. In addition to its autonomous regions, it would be based in various national regions, districts and village Soviets.

The Republic might have a single National Soviet. As a matter of fact, the CPSU platform provides for such Soviets. This National Soviet should enjoy the rights of an Autonomous Republic in the sphere of education and culture. There may be formed even two such ministries. These ministries would have their own research institutions, printing shops, theatres. This would provide a foundation on which to develop the national culture and language. The equation of the national Soviet with an Autonomous Republic would entail a number of consequences which follow from our Constitution as regards elections of people's deputies. It would also have its own budget. I think, this sort of status of Autonomous Republics is needed also by the Jews, Poles and Koreans.

[Yenyutina] Would that be enough to avoid frictions?

[Popov] In an administrative system which leaves no room for economic power, borders amount to the central issue. Someone's well-being under an administrative socialism depends not so much on his work as on how the surplus product taken away from him is divided. Of course all talk about national autonomies makes people fear the possibility of intruders carving the common economic cake, redistributing social funds.

I know that if we press more resolutely for faster economic changes in perestroika, if the most of the earnings of enterprises, collective farms, cooperatives, family farms remain with them, they together with the workers, from their own wages, would correspondingly put up most of the money for education and culture, the role of the superior bodies would change. Instead of sharing out funds they would ask for funds available to them

depending on the type of projects and on how much enterprises and private citizens are prepared to contribute.

Territorial and administrative bodies would no longer be regarded as defenders of their people's interests in dividing social funds because these funds would not exist in general. For this reason, stepping up the economic perestroika is the most important way to quell ethnic problems.

[Yenyutina] What else, do you think, should be done?

[Popov] The CPSU platform lacks many points. I think we should find a feasible form to ensure equal rights to persons of any nationality wherever they happen to be in this country.

From this point of view, I believe, the platform should provide for the solution of the problems of Russians, first and foremost, who happened to live outside their historical areas. For decades, a considerable part of the surplus product produced in Russia was taken out and channelled for industrial construction in various national territories. Then the Russian population was sent to work at those projects.

At the moment this population, I think has been left to its own devices. It is forced to send reminders of its existence and human rights by staging strikes. While the Russian parliament is in slumber, Congress in the US is worried over the future of a single American who finds himself in trouble. There should be autonomous formations for Russian population all over the country.

The principle of the inviolability of borders is insufficiently elaborated in the CPSU platform. How can the Kazakh people develop in today's Kazakhstan if they are not the majority there and thus their language, according to law, can't be granted national status?

The border inviolability principle contained in the CPSU draft platform is questionable already because the first decisions in this area were made in conditions of the administrative system and the personality cult. Stalin deliberately incorporated into those decisions a basis for conflict—the notorious divide and rule principle. Tell me why the Ural Cossacks which settled on the Yaik were included into Kazakhstan? Why should one have divided the Ossetes into southern Ossetes and northern Ossetes, or drawn a dividing line between the Adyghes and the Abkhazies?

You can't any longer proceed from the premise that all the Republics should follow the same development pattern within our Union. They are too diverse for that. It is one thing if you take Byelorussia and the Ukraine, and quite another if you take people with other vastly different cultures. And there can be different terms in the Union agreement. The idea of a single model for all the Republics is as dangerous, I think, as a model for a single form of ownership.

There is also a problem of Autonomous Republics. All Autonomous Republics where their native population form a numerical majority should be made Union Republics after having updated their borders, I believe. This would considerably ease the problems of the Russian Federation itself. The resulting Russia would be more streamlined and more caring for its own people.

It might be possible to set up in Russia a federation of five Russian Republics—Norther, Central, Southern, Ural, and Siberian. This would greatly help the introduction of regional self-financing arrangement. Incidentally, the Ukraine too could form a federation of three Republics—Central, Western and Eastern. I think Soviets of Nationalities in this country should be set up in all Republics where people of non-native nationality account for, say, 20 per cent. They should operate precisely as Soviets of Nationalities, rather than Soviets for representatives or national-territorial formations. Take Karelia for example. Represented in the national part of the Congress of People's Deputies should be Karelians, not the Karelian Republic. There should be Armenians in the Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian

Republic even if the Republic has no regional Armenian formations. Failing to do this, the scramble for territorial adjustments would remain central to our ethnic problems.

And lastly. The CPSU platform says nothing about the procedure and rules of secession from the USSR of those Republics that would wish to do so. But if there is a law on registration of marriages, there should be a law on ending them, on the obligation of those who wish to dissolve the marriage, on compensations for those victimized by the dissolution, or on the party that objects against the dissolution, etc. I know the subject is unpleasant, but all possible situations should be foreseen.

It's easy, of course, to criticize. There is no single solution to the national issue. The important thing is to try and do today what can be done, what we can afford today, to restore justice where we can, to prepare to start to move in the right direction. The destabilizing ethnic unrest should be turned into one of the motivating forces of perestroika.